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UN UNDER PRESSURE

Cambodian Rulers Threaten Secessionist Moves Over Vote

By Kathy Chenault

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

PHNOM PENH, CAMBODIA

PROTESTS erupted yesterday against United Nations forces in Cambodia amid signs of spreading secessionism within the government. This poses new obstacles to a UN-crafted peace plan already near collapse because of the failure to disarm and demobilize combatants.

Prime Minister Hun Sen, meanwhile, said the government of the Cambodian People's Party (CPP) would refuse to give up power unless the UN satisfies its demands for an investigation of alleged irregularities and fraud in the recent election. The royalist opposition party – known by its French acronym FUNCINPEC and led by Prince Norodom Rannaridh, son of Prince Norodom Sihanouk – won the most seats in the new 120-member assembly.

Yasushi Akashi, UN special representative in Cambodia, has rejected the appeal for a special investigation, and said any irregularities that occurred would not have affected the outcome. He declared the election free and fair.

The standoff between the UN force that monitored the May 23-28 balloting and the Hun Sen government, which is dissolving into discord following the election, highlights the seemingly intractable problems that stand in the way of creating democracy in Cambodia after decades of war and authoritarian rule.

The political struggles also have raised concerns of a breakdown in security that could leave the country vulnerable to increased attacks by the Khmer Rouge guerrillas, who withdrew from the peace process and boycotted the elections.

At a meeting of the Supreme National Council, a body of representatives of all competing parties intended to guide the country until a new government can be formed, former monarch Prince Si-

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New UN Role: Make, Not Just Keep, the Peace

Somalia violence shows 'blue helmets' can be overmatched, need additional firepower

By Peter Grier

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

FOR the world's rescue effort in Somalia, the second act is proving more difficult than the first.

When United States forces turned over their peacekeeping duties to United Nations-led troops last month, the Somali security situation appeared stabilized. But the ad hoc UN peacekeeping force, less organized and not as well-armed as its US predecessor, was unable to prevent the gradual return of Somali gunmen to the streets of Mogadishu.

Forceful retaliation for the recent ambush of Pakistani peacekeepers could, in the short term, restore order in the Somali capital. **(Reprisal prospects, Page 7.)** But the longer-term problem remains: UN peacekeeping forces are today being asked to shoulder far more responsibility than before, without corresponding increases in funds, leadership, or heavy weaponry.

The plight of the overmatched Somali peacekeepers is being replicated, in different forms, in Cambodia and throughout the Balkans. **(US troops to deploy to Macedonia, Page 6.)** In these situations "it is not just a lack of management support in New York, but an overall lack of equipment and personnel in the field that has gutted the peacekeeping effort," says a new report on peacekeeping by the Worldwatch Institute.

Pakistanis ambushed in Somalia last week, for instance, reportedly ran into trouble at least partly because they do not have armored personnel carriers available for patrol in unsettled areas, as the Americans did. Poorly

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Basic Science Meets Basic Budget in Atom Smasher Debate

By Max Boot

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

'BASIC Research Is in Grave Danger! Your Urgent Help Is Needed Immediately!"

This is the headline of an electronic mail message distributed to high-energy physicists around the nation this week, urging them to voice public support for the Superconducting Super Collider (SSC), a $10 billion atom smasher under construction in Texas.

Dozens of scientists took the hint and inundated opponents of the project with faxes echoing the wording suggested by the form letter: "The Super Collider is a vital project to my state of ... and to our nation."

The fax avalanche is only a small part of the war now being waged for the hearts and minds of lawmakers who will decide the super collider's fate, probably this month. With budget-cutting fervor at an all-time high, many big spending items – especially discretionary expenditures – are coming under siege.

Still, it is not easy to defeat huge public-works projects that create thousands of jobs, put money into the pockets of hundreds of contractors, and benefit virtually every congressional district in the country.

"When a $10 billion money train leaves Washington, there are an awful lot of people out there anxious for that money train to arrive. And they'll spend a lot of money, a lot of lobbying money, to keep that train on track," says Rep. Jim Slattery (D) of Kansas.

The SSC train almost derailed last year when the House of Representatives voted 232 to 181 to kill the project.

Although the Senate saved the SSC, the House defeat "was a real wake-up call for us," says H. Gerald Staub, executive director of the National Association for the Superconducting Super Collider. "We recognized that our program was in a precarious position and if we were going to salvage it, we had to put on a full-court press."

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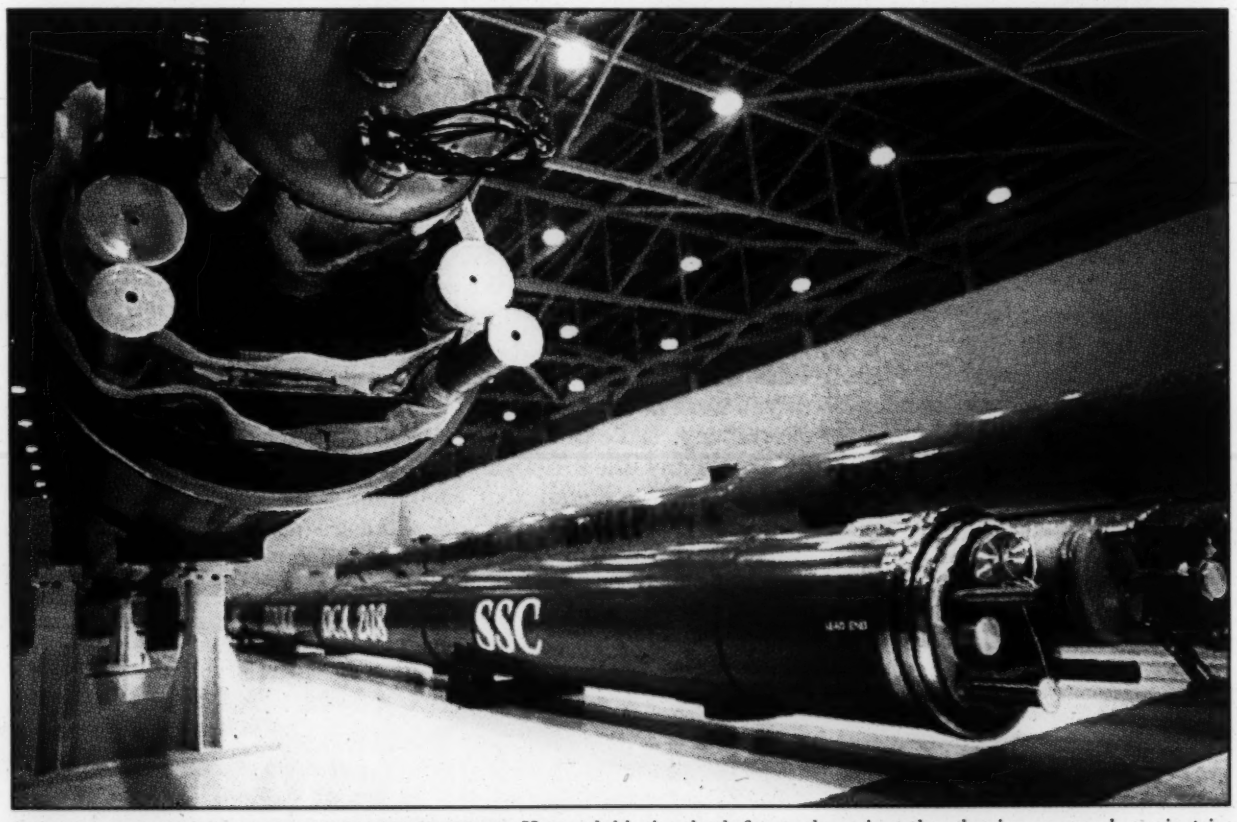

SUPERCONDUCTING SUPER COLLIDER FACILITY, TEXAS: *Heavy lobbying both for and against the physics research project is accompanying debate in Congress over whether to continue $10 billion in funding.*

Next Week In the Monitor

- New Orleans skeptics say the world's largest gambling palace won't solve the city's deep problems. **Monday.**
- Ecuador Indians and Oil: Part 2 of a three-part series on indigenous people and their rights. **Wednesday.**
- The colder the climate, the more popular golf is, to judge by the number of golfers per state. **Friday.**

Australian Group Aims To Boost Ties With US

WASHINGTON WATCH

WHEN he was in Australia last January, former President Bush remarked that he would become the last president to embody the emotional ties flowing from the mutual experiences of both countries from World War II.

Now, fearing that United States-Australia relations are drifting, a high-powered group from both countries is trying to find an anchor.

This weekend in Washington, the group called the Australian American Education Leadership Foundation plans meetings with current and former State Department officials, US think tanks, advisers to President Clinton, journalists, and US business leaders.

The Australian group represents both sides of the Down Under political scene, the arts, business, academia, and journalism. Although the group is privately funded, it is officially encouraged by Prime Minister Paul Keating and includes three Australian Cabinet ministers.

"It is unique. No other group has been pulled together for the common purpose to help mold the next era of the relationship between Australia and the US in a manner which enhances the national interest of both countries," says Phil Scanlan, chairman of the group.

"It will hopefully lead to a network of connections between senior men and women with leadership roles," says Mr. Scanlan, who expects that the group's meetings will alternate countries each year.

The group's US agenda will focus on such issues as regional security, the economy, the key players in the region such as China and Japan, and institutional initiatives, such as the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC). In addition, the Australians feel that they can share their perspective on national issues, such as budget problems, industrial policy, and health care.

The Australians hope to focus on the common values shared by the two countries.

Both countries, Scanlan says, "aim to be exemplars of a democratic, multiethnic pluralistic society." He readily admits, however, that both countries have different interests. Australia, at Mr. Keating's urging, has begun to shift its focus from Europe and the US to Asia.

Scanlan sees this shift as a potential positive for the US-Australia relationship since, "we aim to be one of the best informed about Asia in the region." Within the initial group of Australians is Richard Woolcott, who helped to set up APEC, and Ross Garnaut, a former Australian ambassador to China.

In recent years, Australia's interest has sometimes collided with American concerns. For example, the US protects its domestic sugar and beef farmers with quotas. Australian farmers, who are not subsidized, are hindered from exporting to the US by those quotas.

And Australian farmers have long complained about US export subsidies on wheat. But Scanlan says the group will not be discussing such long-running disputes.

Instead, it will focus on areas in which the two countries have common concerns. This is likely to include chemical-weapons bans and the security threat for the region posed by North Korea, says Robert Zoellick, the American coordinator for the dialogue and former undersecretary for Economic and Agricultural Affairs for Mr. Bush.

"There are lots of commonalities and possibilities for sharing information," says Mr. Zoellick, who is now an executive vice president at the Federal National Mortgage Association in Washington.

– Ron Scherer

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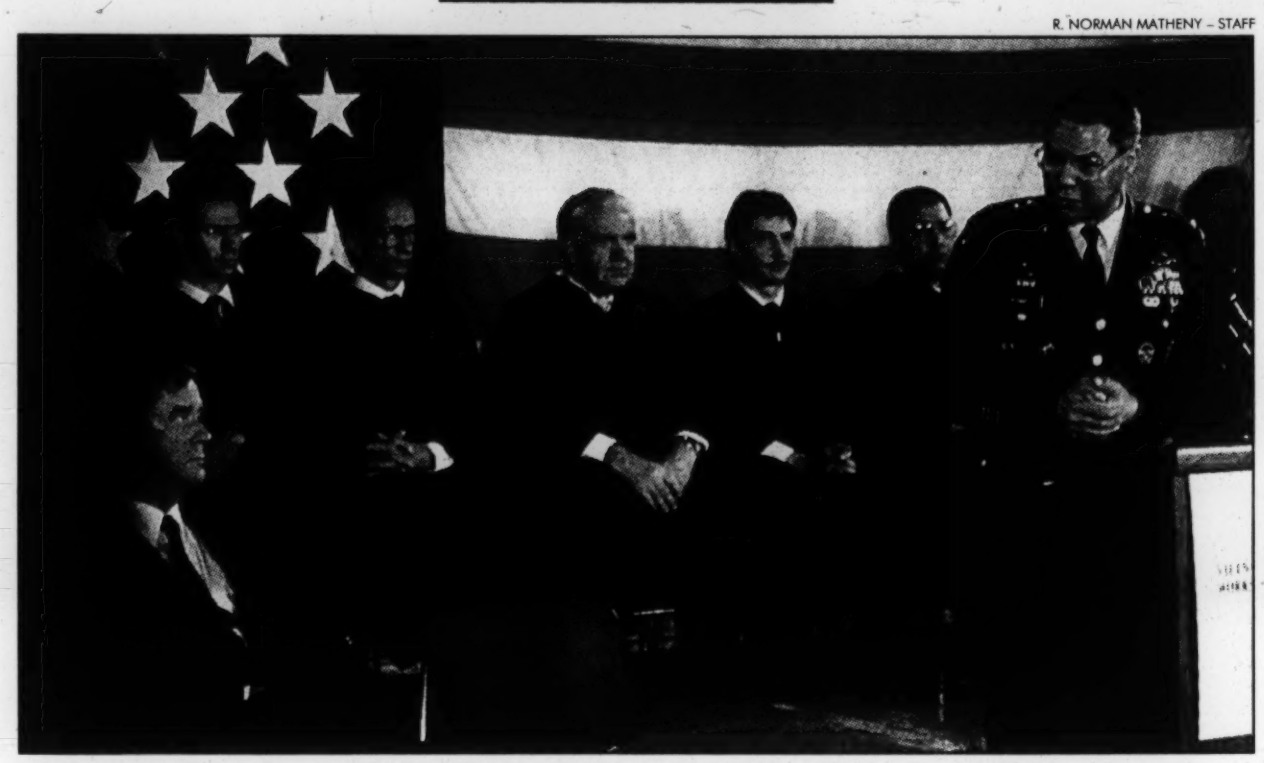


BOSTON, MASS.: *The chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, with Gov. William Weld at left, Wednesday addressed graduates of a special job-training program for unemployed veterans, most of whom served in the Vietnam War.*

Powell Urges US War Veterans To 'Stand Up Proud' in Job Search

By Elizabeth Ross
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BOSTON

GEN. Colin Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, told graduates of a special four-month job-training program for war veterans that "with hard work and courage, wounds can be healed."

Speaking Wednesday at a homeless shelter for Vietnam veterans, General Powell delivered the commencement address for 13 graduates of the program sponsored by Boston-based Vietnam Veterans Workshop Inc.

"You *can* stand up again," he said. "You *can* stand up as proud as you were at the first day of basic training. You *can* stand up as worthy as any other Vietnam veteran or other veteran that has ever served the nation."

Powell spoke before hundreds of people, including friends, families, military officials, and state political leaders. He described the shelter and program as "a labor of love in action."

"When I heard about everything ... that is going on in this shelter, I knew that whatever else I was going to do in Boston – speak to a school, speak to Harvard, go to receptions – the one thing I *had* to do was to come here to see this shelter," he said.

The program offers unemployed veterans training in automated accounting, computer programming, and business mathematics. Provided at no cost to students, it is funded by grants from the United States Labor Department. Wednesday's event marked the graduation of the program's first class.

More than half the graduates are Vietnam veterans, some of whom have found jobs, says Ken Smith, president of Vietnam Veterans Workshop. Some have been in and out of homeless shelters.

"I'm back to bringing home a weekly paycheck," said graduate Bill MacNeil. "I have been out of work for a year and a half."

Douglas Durbin was pleased to have completed the program. "It feels great! I am just waiting to get out there and hold a job permanently," he said.

Many graduates were excited to hear Powell speak. The general also delivered Harvard University's commencement address yesterday. His presence at the university angered homosexual groups because he does not support allowing gays in the military.

But at the veterans' graduation, he did not mention his disagreement with President Clinton on the issue. Rather, he said he admired Clinton for speaking at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial on Memorial Day even though he did not serve in the war.

"I want every veteran here to know I was enormously proud to stand alongside my commander in chief as he paid his respects for those fallen heroes," Powell said.

Serve Poor Clients, Reno Tells Law Students

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

LAWYERS must help people, not just protect rights, Attorney General Janet Reno told Harvard Law School students in a talk June 9. She spoke at an event sponsored by this year's graduating class.

Ms. Reno exhorted members of the legal profession to "look beyond the narrow walls of the courtroom." It is not enough for lawyers to win victories upholding the rights of poor and oppressed clients, she said, if those people must return to barren lives after they leave the courthouse.

"Lawyers have a duty to reach out and use the resources of the community to improve the lives of their clients," she said.

Reno, who previously was the state attorney in Miami, recalled a man who thanked her for prosecuting him on a drug charge several years earlier. When she expressed surprise at his gratitude, he explained that one of Reno's assistant prosecutors had placed the man in a drug-treatment program as an alternative to jail, and that he was now drug free and reunited with his family.

Too often, Reno said, "lawyers have taken law away from the people, made it incomprehensible to them. Law has tied people up, not freed them. It's time to return law to the people and the people to the law."

– James H. Andrews

A Mayoral Election Sends Political Waves Across the Nation

Riordan's victory shows voters tired of urban status quo

By Scott Armstrong
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

LOS ANGELES

THE election of the first Republican mayor of Los Angeles in 36 years may portend a shift in urban American politics with implications from New York City to the White House.

While the victory of millionaire businessman Richard Riordan was driven more by personal preferences than party or ideology, it nevertheless shows a penchant for change among voters in an era of urban fiscal and social disrepair.

With Democrats at the helm of so many big cities, the frustrations could bring shifts in direction and new faces. "This was a referendum on the decline of the city," says William Schneider, an analyst at the American Enterprise Institute. "What Riordan did was successfully portray [City Councilman] Michael Woo as the incumbent.... This was not a move to the right, but dissatisfaction with the status quo. Democrats are linked to the status quo in most cities."

In the city's first open election in 64 years, voters rejected the heir apparent to outgoing Mayor Tom Bradley's biracial coalition of blacks, Latinos, and Jews. Mr. Woo, a liberal Democrat, had portrayed himself as the one best able to unify the city's multiethnic mélange.

Instead, they opted for a conservative who stressed the themes of fighting crime and rebuilding the economy. Though aided by $6 million of his own money, Mr. Riordan was viewed by voters as the lesser of two evils. Those who supported him cited his financial acumen.

He won with a coalition of suburban San Fernando Valley Republicans and Democratic centrists that represent a new majority in the city. It is these kinds of groups and issues that Republican Rudolph Giuliani is expected to tap in his likely challenge of New York Mayor David Dinkins (D) later this year. If Mr. Giuliani were to triumph, three of the nation's most liberal bastions – New York, Los Angeles, and San Francisco – would be ruled either by Republicans or a conservative Democrat (Frank Jordan in San Francisco).

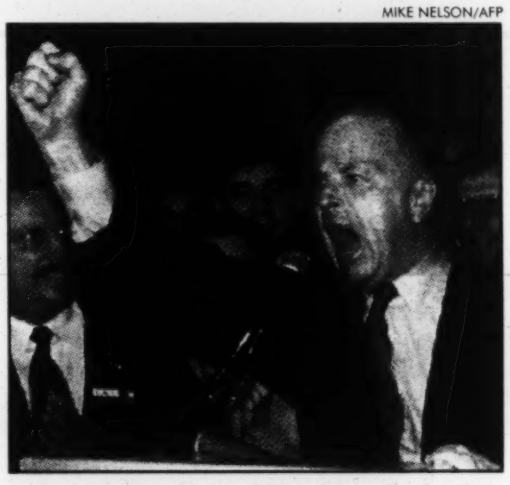
"So much of the liberal agenda for the last 20 years was an entitlement ethic," says Steven Erie, a political scientist at the University of California San Diego. "You can't do that anymore."

Mr. Riordan's victory hasn't gone unnoticed in Washington. Though President Clinton's late endorsement of Mr. Woo was tepid and though neither the president nor his policies were an issue in the nonpartisan race, the councilman's loss means there won't be a Democrat reining in the largest city in a state crucial to Mr. Clinton in 1996. Coming in the wake of the Democrats' drubbing in the Texas Senate contest, it "confirms the image of no-clout Clinton," says Mr. Schneider.

Not too much should be read into this, though. Mr. Riordan has worked with and for Democrats in the past. His transition chairman was a Clinton operative. The two also need each other. Clinton needs to maintain a political base in Los Angeles while Riordan needs money from Washington, which he vows to lobby harder for than his predecessors.

Yesterday, the mayor-elect, who doesn't take office for three weeks, journeyed to Sacramento to begin pressing for funds from another source, the state. It is a propitious move. Mr. Riordan's top challenge will be the city's fiscal crisis. Los Angeles faces as much as a $500-million deficit. Overcoming parsimony in Sacramento will be critical to limiting the red ink.

MIKE NELSON/AFP



VICTORY SHOUT: *Richard Riordan yells thanks to his supporters after winning the mayor's chair in Los Angeles on June 8.*

He promises to make the city "friendly to business," though there are limits to what a mayor can do in turning around an economy. "I don't know if anybody can pull a rabbit out of the hat at this point," says H. Eric Schockman, a University of Southern California political scientist.

Crime will be another top concern. Mr. Riordan vows to put 3,000 more police officers on the street. To pay for this, he suggests leasing Los Angeles International Airport and privatizing city services.

Perhaps his most sensitive task will be uniting what is arguably the most ethnically diverse city in the world. Though Mr. Riordan received the backing of some Latinos and prominent blacks, his main base of support is among suburban Anglos. He promises an administration of every political affiliation, race, creed, and color.

"He is going to have to be patient and build coalitions," says Mike Hernandez, a Councilman who supported Mr. Woo.

GUBERNATORIAL RACE

Tough New Jersey Election Turns on Tax Increases

By Randy Diamond
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

TRENTON, N.J.

THREE years ago a Republican political unknown named Christine Todd Whitman came within 2 percentage points of one of the biggest political upsets in New Jersey history.

After a number of prominent Republicans declined to run, Ms. Whitman took on supposedly unbeatable United States Senator Bill Bradley and fell short of victory by just 59,000 votes. Citizens angered by a $2.8 billion tax increase instituted by Democratic Gov. James Florio vented their displeasure at fellow Democrat Bradley.

Now Ms. Whitman is getting a direct shot at Mr. Florio in a gubernatorial race that has focused the national political spotlight on New Jersey. The race is being closely watched because in this year following the presidential election, New Jersey is one of only two states (Virginia is the other) to hold gubernatorial elections.

Florio has closely aligned himself with President Clinton, who has expressed strong support for the Democratic leader. The governor said he made the tough choice of raising the state taxes to tackle New Jersey's economic problems, just as President Clinton is making tough economic choices to get America back on track.

It is a strategy whose selling power may depend on the strength of the national economy come November, says Steven Salmore, a GOP strategist and professor at Rutgers University.

"If the economy is doing well, then Mr. Clinton's support will rise and that might energize Democratic voters to vote for Florio," Mr. Salmore says.

High unemployment rate

Salmore says New Jersey's current unemployment rate of 7.4 percent, the highest among Northeast industrial states, is not a good omen for Florio. Polls have his approval rating hovering between 30 and 40 percent.

There is also concern over the impact of federal investigations into state municipal bond dealings that caused Florio's chief of staff to resign recently.

Still, Republicans are not counting Florio out. Though he rammed his tax package through the legislature with little discussion, he has spent much of the last two years doing fence mending by meeting with voters. Florio also has hired James Carville, the political consultant credited with engineering Clinton's presidential victory, as his political adviser. "It's going to a close race, but we can win it," Mr. Carville says.

Carville said that Florio's campaign strategy will portray Whitman as a wealthy aristocrat incapable of understanding the struggles of the middle class.

Florio dropped out of high school at the age of 17 to join the Navy, but later earned a law degree and built his own political machine as a state senator and US House member.

While conceding that the tax increase issue has hurt Florio, Carville says he will try to focus the campaign on Florio initiatives such as the first assault-weapons ban in the nation and welfare reform.

But that may not be easy. Florio won the 1989 gubernatorial race by promising New Jerseyians that he would not raise taxes. But he did precisely that upon entering office.

Grass-roots revolt

Florio quickly found himself the target of a grass-roots revolt. Eight thousand citizens gathered at the state capital to demonstrate against his tax program and "Dump Florio" bumper sticks abounded.

Enter Whitman. While she is a member of a politically connected New Jersey family, she was largely unknown when she decided to challenge Bradley.

Her political career consisted of five years on the Somerset County Board of Freeholders in Central New Jersey and two years as president of the New Jersey Board of Public Utilities.

But by virtue of a close loss, Whitman immediately became the front-runner for the GOP gubernatorial nomination.

Though the primary was rife with attacks, all three contenders joined Wednesday at an unity luncheon. "No one should miss the significance of this unity luncheon," Whitman said. "We're going to do this together, all of us."

Whitman then launched an attack on Florio. "I expect to win on the simple strength of better ideas," she said. "But most of all I expect to win by exposing Jim Florio's disastrous performance and lack of leadership in New Jersey."

Florio, who was unopposed in the Democratic primary, didn't even wait for Whitman to claim victory before announcing he was ready for the fight.

"All of us have taken some lumps in the last couple of years," he told cheering supporters. "But ladies and gentleman, it is now our turn at bat. I an eager for the chance and ready for the fight." It is expected to be quite a fight.

Whitman's camp agrees. "It will be a close race, a very hard-fought race, and – I hate to say it – a very dirty race," said Roger Stone, a GOP strategist who is serving as Whitman's adviser.

Political insiders say Florio's best chance of winning is to go on the offense and attack and discredit Whitman. Her advisers admit their candidate has been vague on the issues and must quickly develop detailed positions.

Whitman's campaign manager David Murray said Whitman will not tolerate attacks form the Florio camp. "When attacked, Christine Whitman will respond in kind," he said. "You can take that to the bank."

SSC from page 1

That is just what backers of the SSC have done this year. Mr. Staub's association – made up of corporations, such as General Dynamics and Parsons Brinckerhoff, that are building the super collider – expects to raise about $500,000 this year. Much of the money has gone to hire high-powered lobbyists from five different firms. One lobbyist, Powell Moore, is being paid $7,000 a month to push the project. Another $5,000 a month is going to a public-relations firm that is organizing a lobbying campaign by Nobel Prize-winning physicists.

SCIENTISTS, lobbyists, and businessmen backing the SSC already have visited more than 400 members of Congress. Their basic message is that the super collider will not only have long-term benefits for high-energy physics, but will also boost US economic competitiveness in the short term.

The Texas National Laboratory Commission, which administers the state's $1 billion contribution to the SSC, has even used teleconferencing to get the message out. The commission spent $300,000 to beam a seminar on the SSC's benefits to community leaders in six locations around the country this week.

Opponents of the SSC are not as well organized. A group called OOPS (Organizations Opposed to the Superconducting Super Collider) was formed just a few weeks ago. Its driving force is Citizens Against Government Waste, a Washington-based lobbying organization, but it has recruited such unlikely allies as The Seniors Coalition and Friends of the Earth.

Why would environmentalists and senior-citizen groups oppose the SSC? Jake Hansen of The Seniors Coalition told a Capitol Hill news conference that "building a $14 billion racetrack for protons ... doesn't make sense" when Congress is considering cutting Social Security benefits.

"No one in our coalition questions that the SSC represents good science. [But] it is not priority science, and we have to establish some meaningful [fiscal] priorities," adds Rep. Sherwood Boehlert (R) of New York.

OOPS's chief strategy is to mobilize grass-roots indignation against the expensive SSC. But it also employs two full-time lobbyists to work the corridors of the Capitol – a place they know well since they are former aides to former Rep. Dennis Eckart (D) of Ohio, a leading SSC opponent. Total spending for the lobbying campaign is under $10,000, says Tom Schatz, president of Citizens Against Government Waste.

The anti-SSC forces are concentrating their limited resources in the House. "We're hoping for a big enough win in the House that senators sitting on the fence will get a strong message," Mr. Schatz says.

A House Appropriations subcommittee was scheduled to take up the issue yesterday, but no matter what is decided in committee, both sides predict a heated floor fight later this month. Then the SSC's $640 million annual allocation will go to the Senate.

Leading opponents of the SSC, such as Representative Boehlert, are confident they will win – in part, because they believe the Clinton administration will not go to the wall for the program now that Texas has no Democratic senators.

But supporters of the SSC are also optimistic. They have polled House members and say the race is a tossup. The outcome will depend on the large block of undecided members, many of them freshmen who may be open to pro-SSC arguments. "We have a 55 percent chance in the House," says Rep. Joe Barton (D) of Texas, a leading SSC backer. "We will win in the Senate."

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CAMBODIA from page 1

hanouk said he has been told two renegade government officials were planning to establish an autonomous zone in the eastern Cambodian province of Prey Veng.

The two officials were identified as National Security Minister Sin Song and Prince Norodom Chakrapong, Sihanouk's other son and deputy prime minister under Hun Sen.

Hun Sen also told the council there were signs of insurrection among government security forces that could lead to secessionist moves in the central provinces of Kompong Cham and Kompong Thom. He said large supplies of weapons were flowing into those provinces, which are heavily influenced by the Khmer Rouge.

In the country's most populous province of Kompong Cham, about 600 people including government soldiers and police held an anti-UN protest yesterday, an observer said. He said the crowd attacked the FUNCINPEC office. FUNCINPEC finished first in balloting in Kompong Cham, a particularly wounding defeat for Hun Sen in his home province.

Forcing out opposition

Members of the crowd tore down signs and demanded that UN personnel, FUNCINPEC members, and members of the Buddhist Liberal Democratic Party leave the province, the observer said.

UN spokesman Eric Falt said UN vehicles were prevented from taking a ferry across a river to get into Kompong Cham.

A letter signed by provincial government and military officials in Kompong Cham reflected increased uneasiness there. The letter demanded the removal of UN forces and said the province would only respect the authority of Sihanouk or the CPP. Among those signing the letter were Hun Neng, governor of the province and Hun Sen's brother, and the regional Army chief, Ngek Hourn.

About 300 people in the southeastern province of Svay Rieng also held an anti-UN demonstration yesterday, Mr. Falt said.

Rannaridh appealed for Cambodians to respect the outcome of the election and sharply criticized the reported secessionist moves by Sin Song and Chakrapong, his half-brother and bitter enemy. "It is absolutely against the will of the people," Rannaridh said.

Rannaridh said he hoped his father, Sihanouk, would continue to play an intermediary role to try to ensure a peaceful transfer of power.

Prince still leader

Sihanouk, rebuffed last week in attempts to form a coalition government bringing together the CPP and FUNCINPEC under his leadership, remained adamant in public that he would not try again to put together another joint administration.

But he is still negotiating in private among the factions and is likely to emerge as leader of an interim administration that will ensure him a similar role after the new assembly writes a constitution and forms a government.

Mr. Akashi said the ruling party's refusal to accept the results of the country's first multiparty elections in 21 years was not surprising because of the party's bitter political loss.

Akashi expressed confidence that the problems can be worked out by forming an interim government to ensure a peaceful transition of power, but stressed that acceptance of the election results by the ruling party was vital to building democracy in Cambodia under the UN peace plan.

"We can help Cambodia to the extent that Cambodians help themselves make peace among each other and accept the democratic rules, however painful they may be," he said.

Final results released yesterday showed that FUNCINPEC won 45.4 percent of the vote, compared with 38.2 percent for the ruling party.

SOMALIA from page 1

trained peacekeepers from other nations have at times fired wildly in Mogadishu and needed rescue.

A US quick-reaction force (QRF) intended to provide heavy military backup is still present in Somalia. The experience of last week, however, shows that this concept can have its limitations.

According to the Pentagon, the QRF is designed to provide reinforcement within 30 minutes. When called to the aid of embattled Pakistanis last weekend, the QRF first was told to move to the wrong location on a Mogadishu road.

They had to return to headquarters to get confirmation of the correct location. Upon arrival at this new map grid point, the Pakistanis were again not present, Defense Department spokesman Bob Hall said this week. Eventually the QRF heard gunfire and found the pinned-down peacekeepers.

At press time, the widely expected retaliation against Somali warlord Mohamed Farah Aideed had not occurred. The US has sent AC-130 gunships to Somalia, however, and is considering "a small number of additional forces for the QRF," Mr. Hall says.

The UN itself is well aware of its peacekeeping limitations. Last year, UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali issued a report intended as a call for Western nations to increase international peacekeeping capabilities.

The heart of Mr. Boutros-Ghali's "Agenda for Peace" is a proposal that member nations designate units of their armed forces as standby peacekeepers. Thus peacekeeping efforts could better coordinate leadership, training, and response.

Though some European nations support the idea, the US and Britain, among others, have reacted cooly to anything resembling a "new world army." But the secretary-general's report was far from stillborn.

'Blue helmets' are being thrown into situations where violence continues, and peacemaking, as opposed to peacekeeping, is needed.

"As an intellectual framework it is very much a point of reference for people," says David Shorr, an international organizations expert at BASIC, a security information think tank.

Founders of the UN originally thought such an international army would be part of their new organization. Competition between the US and the Soviet Union prevented agreement on giving the UN enforcement teeth, however.

What developed instead was the UN practice of inserting nonviolent peacekeepers into an area after a cease-fire has been agreed upon. This practice has worked well in many situations. But in recent years the pace of peacekeeping requests has increased, as well as the difficulty of peacekeeping situations.

More and more, UN "blue helmets" are being thrown into situations where violence continues and peacemaking, as opposed to peacekeeping, is needed.

Worldwatch analyst Michael Renner proposes upgrading the UN with a multi-tier peacekeeping approach, including:

- A UN early-warning office that monitors troublespots.
- Permanent conflict-resolution committees set up in various regions of the world.
- The pro-active deployment of peacekeepers, to prevent fighting from starting.
- Both a standing UN peacekeeping force that would be a kind of UN Foreign Legion, and specially designated back-up contingents from various nations that the Security Council could call up on short notice.

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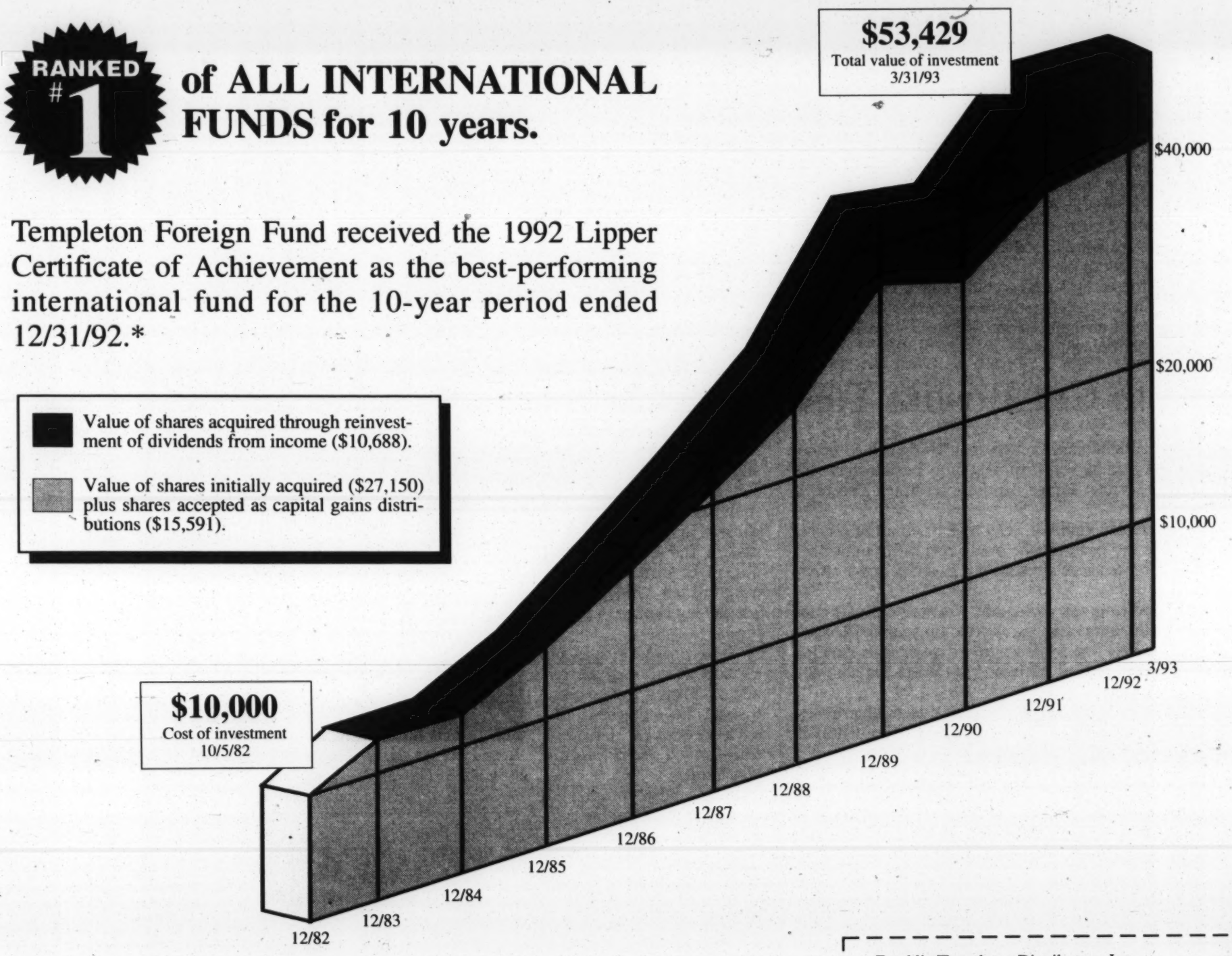

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· EUROPE UPDATE ·

300 US Peacekeepers To Land in Macedonia

THE former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia quickly agreed yesterday to accept the deployment of about 300 US troops as part of a United Nations monitoring force.

The American ground troops would be the first to step foot in the Balkans, but officials acknowledged that the soldiers will face little risk. The US has been under pressure from Europeans to commit ground troops to peacekeeping efforts in Bosnia, a step that President Clinton has resisted.

The US troops will join some 700 Nordic soldiers stationed by the UN in Macedonia in order to prevent the conflict raging elsewhere in former Yugoslavia from spilling into Macedonia.

Secretary of State Warren Cristopher confirmed to NATO foreign ministers at a meeting in Athens yesterday that Washington was ready to go ahead with the deployment. The US military currently maintains a medical unit in Croatia and helps enforce a "no fly" zone over Bosnia.

In addition, NATO announced yesterday that it was ready to offer air power to defend UN troops deployed in Muslim "safe havens" in Bosnia and ordered its military authorities to complete the planning for the operation.

But a statement issued by NATO foreign ministers at a meeting in Athens glossed over the issue of whether the planes could also be used to defend civilians in the enclaves – an issue on which the US and its allies disagree.

Croatia to Cut Bosnia Ties

A senior Zagreb official said Croatia may be forced to break diplomatic relations with its war-torn neighbor, Bosnia-Herzegovina, if Muslim-led Bosnian forces continue to attack Croats in Bosnia.

Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Seks told Croatian television late Wednesday that the government would review its treatment of 266,000 Muslim refugees as a result of a Bosnian Army offensive against Croats.

"We may be forced to break diplomatic relations with Bosnia-Herzegovina if Muslim units continue aggression against Croats," he said. "It is unthinkable that while we take care of their families here, their brothers, fathers, or husbands in Bosnia are committing crimes against our people."

Seks spoke after the Croatian government met in emergency session and declared Zagreb's right to "demand full protection of Bosnian Croats."

Bosnian Croat pleas to Zagreb for help have put President Franjo Tudjman under pressure to intervene despite threats of Western sanctions if Croatia becomes embroiled in Bosnia's three-sided civil war.

IRA Hits English Oil Sites

The Irish Republican Army claimed responsibility yesterday for two explosions at oil and gas depots in northern England. Neither blast caused injuries.

The IRA has recently attacked oil installations and other so-called commercial targets throughout England, as part of its campaign against British rule of Northern Ireland.

Police said an explosion rocked an Esso oil refinery in North Shields shortly before midnight, but caused no fires.

The blast followed the fiery destruction early Wednesday of an 80-foot tower containing natural gas at a gas depot in Gateshead. Both industrial towns are on the River Tyne, about 250 miles north of London, and are about five miles apart.

In April, a bomb blast rocked the same Esso installation in North Shields that was hit Wednesday. The April blast caused minor damage and no injuries.

The IRA last struck in England with a 500-pound bomb in London's financial district April 24. That attack killed a newspaper photographer, wounded 45 others, and caused hundreds of millions of dollars in damage.

– Compiled by Eric C. Evarts

INTERNATIONAL

Yeltsin Forges New Ties For Constitution's Support

A major test remains defining status and powers of ethnic republics

By Daniel Sneider
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

MOSCOW

A WEEK into the meeting of Russia's Constitutional Assembly, President Boris Yeltsin is countering serious challenges to his draft constitution.

The most public assault comes from parliament chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov, who in an angry speech on Wednesday dismissed the new constitution as "a revolutionary rejection of all Russian traditions."

Khasbulatov refused an invitation to speak to a specially convened plenary session of the assembly yesterday, citing a sudden illness. Taking the moment, President Yeltsin moved to strike a bargain with a key part of the parliamentary leadership that has broken with Mr. Khasbulatov. Speaking to the assembly, he eased his earlier tough call to dismantle the Communist-era system of soviets, or councils, which function as pseudo-legislatures at all levels.

Yeltsin said he does not support "any revolutionary actions toward the soviets." Instead he suggested that soviets could be "smoothly" transformed into normal legislatures.

Yeltsin also offered to create an "arbitration commission" composed of senior judges and lawyers to resolve deadlocks over key constitutional issues. He proposed to allow parliament deputies, as well as the republics and regions that are part of the Russian Federation, to initial the final version of the constitution and he left the door open to the demand from many parliamentary and regional soviet leaders to adopt the constitution through the existing parliament.

Yeltsin's most serious problem is posed by the leaders of the ethnic republics in the Russian Federation, who demand significant autonomy in exchange for their support. Republican leaders are warning Yeltsin that any attempt to impose a constitution not to their liking could lead to the breakup of Russia itself.

"We have grown out of the pants of a unitary state, there can be no return. Any attempt is extremely risky and will lead to a Yugoslavia scenario," Viktor Stepanov, chairman of the soviet of the autonomous republic of Karelia, told the Sovietskaya Rossiya daily June 8. Mr. Stepanov is a key figure among the leaders of the 20 republics, picked by Yeltsin as a co-chairman of the Constitutional Assembly, which convened June 5.

Yeltsin has actively courted the republics, making the Federation Treaty signed last year a part of his draft constitution and promising to support passage of a law that will spell out the concrete mechanism for division of powers between the central and republican governments. But the Russian leader is being squeezed from the other side by the governments of the Russian-populated regions, who demand equal political and equal rights with the republics, as well as by key constituencies such as businessmen who worry that autonomy will be used to block market economic reforms.

DIMA TANIN/AFP

YELTSIN: *The Russian president eased previous demands to dismantle system of local 'soviets' or councils, promising smooth transition.*

The Federation Treaty recognizes the republics as sovereign with significant authority within their own boundaries, including ownership of resources. Two republics – Tatarstan and Chechnya – have refused to even sign that treaty. The republics, which were formed during the Bolshevik era as a gesture to national minorities, have distinct rights beyond those of the regions, territories, and smaller ethnic autonomous areas that make up the other 88 "subjects" of the federation. The new draft constitution gives the republics further political rights by granting them half the seats in the powerful upper house of a new two-chamber parliament, far greater than their actual proportion of the population.

The demand for an equal political and economic status for the regions was strongly voiced even before the assembly began. In earlier discussions of a new constitution, many Russian politicians advocated getting rid of the system of ethnic republics and restoring the pre-revolutionary division of the country into territorial units.

The Russian majority has been backed since the assembly began by key aides to Yeltsin. "It is clear we should equalize the status of territories and regions to the status of republics within the Russian federation in the sphere of economy, laws, guarantees of rights, and freedoms of citizens on the territories of these subjects," Vice Premier Sergei Shakrai told reporters on June 8. Mr. Shakrai, a key strategist in the Constitutional Assembly, supported equal representation in the parliament.

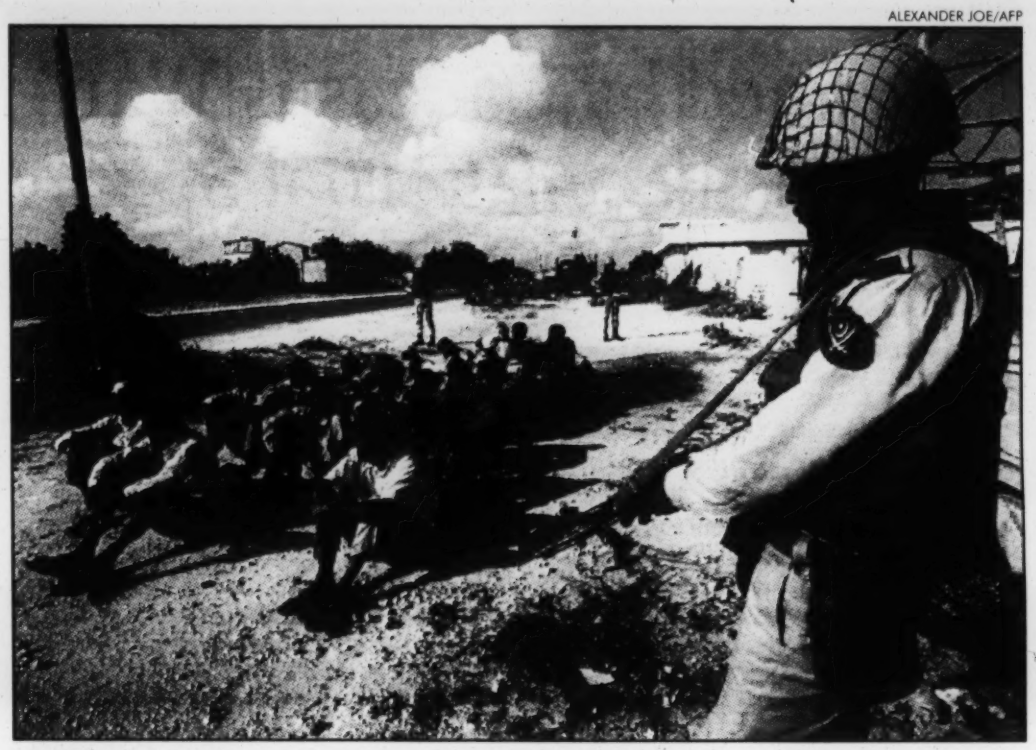
Shakrai later told Russian television that the businessmen who are participating as one of the five constituency groups at the 762-person Assembly are strongly opposed to giving greater autonomy to the republics.

"All of them want a unitarian state with no borders, customs, or excessive obstacles in the way of market formation and the flow of goods," Shakrai said.

Republican leaders strongly reject this view, particularly the call to give equal political rights to the regions. "Russia is called a federation precisely for the reason that it incorporates sovereign republics," North Ossetia Supreme Soviet chairman Akhsarbek Galazov told the independent Interfax news agency. "Making everybody equal would be a legal and political error."

In a meeting with republican leaders on Tuesday, Yeltsin was far from ready to take such a stance. "Only the president appreciates the position of the republics," Komi Republic Supreme Soviet chairman Yuri Spiridonov told Interfax.

ALEXANDER JOE/AFP



GUARD DUTY: *A Pakistani member of the United Nations peacekeeping operation in Somalia watches over men captured in Mogadishu on Wednesday. UN and US officials are weighing options to respond to increased tensions between Somali factions and peacekeepers.*

UN and US Weigh Options For Reprisal Against Somalis

Attacks on depots could end accords on storing of arms

By Robert M. Press
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

NAIROBI, KENYA

PEACEKEEPING efforts in Somalia are at a critical juncture, as United States and United Nations officials prepare to respond to the killing of 23 Pakistani soldiers June 5 in Mogadishu.

Their decision will have major implications for continued relief operations throughout the capital, the future effectiveness of UN troops in maintaining peace in Somalia, and the slowly evolving political negotiations between rival Somali factions.

The killings of the Pakistanis indicate that disarmament in Somalia is still a distant goal, one which neither US nor those troops from other nations there under the UN have been able to accomplish.

Experts are now divided over whether to mount a strong military reprisal or push harder for a diplomatic solution.

A military strike could trigger further attacks by the Somali faction suspected of the June 5 killings of peacekeepers; yet the lack of a response could also embolden the Somali gunmen to attempt more attacks.

The situation is "very delicate," a relief official said in Nairobi yesterday.

If civilians are killed in an attack, this would make future UN efforts in Somalia more difficult, he said. But some relief officials and many Somalis want the UN to take firm action against Gen. Mohamed Farah Aideed, the leader of the faction blamed for killing the Pakistani peacekeepers.

The US announced Wednesday it was sending four sophisticated AC-130 attack aircraft to Somalia. They are capable of day or night strikes, using computers and radar to hone in on specific targets.

But which targets?

Like most Somali fighters, the suspected gunmen who belong to the faction led by General Aideed do not wear uniforms. The men move around. They blend in with the civilian population. And they often hide their guns.

Weapons caches, established by US and UN troops to store factional weapons, would make an easier target. But there are risks in attacking them.

If US planes or UN ground forces destroy the caches located in Mogadishu or outside the capital, Aideed and other Somali factional army leaders likely would no longer be bound to agreements to keep their weapons in such sites.

That could free large quantities of weapons for use in renewed fighting among the factions.

Both militarily and politically, in fights and political negotiations with rival factions, Aideed has been losing ground in Somalia in recent months. This may account for an increased belligerence by his forces – a kind of striking out reaction in response to a lost advantage outside the city.

A show of US military muscle in Kismayo earlier this year had no discernible effect in ending contention over that city by two rival Somali factions. War ships, helicopters, and some 2,000 Marines were involved in the operation there.

In the June 5 attack, it is not clear whether all measures were taken to protect the Pakistani troops in the first place.

Col. Azif Duraiz, deputy commander of Pakistani troops in Mogadishu, calls the attack an ambush. He wants justice, he says. "The whole world is behind us," he told a reporter in the capital.

But there were clear indications that tensions in the city were mounting and that the troops might be in danger. There is no indication that either air cover or armored cars were provided for the Pakistanis.

A UN statement issued June 7 notes that loudspeakers were being used by Somalis in the city to allege that UN troops were planning to take over Aideed's radio station. The station apparently had been broadcasting anti-UN statements.

But Adishwar Padarath, a UN spokesman, denies any UN plan to take over the radio station. "Why would we need to take over a radio station," he said yesterday in an interview here in Nairobi, where many UN staff have been evacuated. The UN has its own radio station and newspaper.

The current crisis comes amidst some positive developments. Somali factions in Mogadishu have agreed on the formation of a police force, which has begun training. Trade and commerce has been picking up in the city. Elsewhere in the south and central parts of the country, the hardest hit by the famine of 1991-92, starvation is largely ended.

Haitians Jockey for Power as a Blockade Is Proposed

By Kathie Klarreich
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

PORT-AU-PRINCE, HAITI

WHEN Haitian Prime Minister Marc Bazin suddenly announced his resignation June 8, there was surprisingly little public reaction here. Except for a few road blocks, business proceeded as usual.

But on the political front, jockeying for the vacant post began immediately. An already disjointed country became even more divided as parties began to interpret the country's Constitution in their favor, seeking justification to take power.

On Wednesday, United Nations Special Envoy Dante Caputo announced plans to set up a meeting next week with the principal forces involved in the Haitian crisis, but not the country's powerful Army.

A prerequisite to the meeting is that parties must agree that ousted President Jean-Bertrand Aristide is the only legitimate president, a condition the military says it will not accept. The Army will likely remain an obstacle to any solution that may result from Mr. Caputo's diplomacy.

France, Canada, Venezuela, and the United States announced agreement Wednesday on a draft United Nations resolution that includes a blockade that would cut off Haiti's access to oil and gasoline – a measure designed to hurt the military.

Mr. Bazin took office last June under a consensus agreement between the Army, the parliament, and the executive branch. At that time, Joseph Nerette was president and Jean-Jacques Honorat was prime minister. They stepped in following the September 1991 military coup d'état that ousted Mr. Aristide.

Bazin's recent troubles started June 4 with his decision to replace four Cabinet members, several of whom were closely tied to the military. The four refused to relinquish office on technical grounds.

At the same time the US imposed sanctions against the de facto regime. Washington published a list of 83 people, including 29 military officers, the prime minister, his entire Cabinet, and 35 state institutions, which will have their assets seized and visas revoked.

Bazin's resignation

Perhaps in an attempt to show the country he was in control, Bazin delivered a lengthy speech the evening of June 7 outlining new economic measures to help restore Haiti's destitute economy.

But the next morning he resigned, he said, because of threats against ministerial nominees.

Confusion followed on how to fill the void. While most parties are referring to the 1987 Constitution for guidance, each is interpreting the articles according to its interests.

Mr. Nerette called for his return to power because he never officially resigned. He wants to apply Article 149, which says that when the president no longer holds office, power defaults to the president of the Supreme Court, an office Nerette held at the time of the coup.

In the Senate, there is a pro-coup group debating the pros and cons of Articles 148 and 149. Article 148 says when the president cannot fulfill his duties, power is passed on to the Cabinet under the direction of the prime minister. These senators think the prime minister should be named from Bazin's Cabinet, which has remained in office.

Senators debate constitution

Another block of senators, who remain loyal to Aristide, is calling for Article 148 to be applied, but with Aristide naming a new prime minister.

"What we are interested in is a return to democracy," said Chavannes Jean Baptiste, who among others represents the exiled president. "But we will not cohabitate with the putchists. Aristide must have their resignations before he names a new prime minister. That's not negotiable."

Therein lies the problem. The Army, responsible for the coup, has been unwilling to negotiate to restore democracy, which according to the negotiating team of the UN and the Organization of American States, means the elected president's return.

Because the Army is not officially in power, it takes no responsibility for the state of lawlessness prevalent in the country or the stalemate in negotiations.

Army officials so far have made no official statement in response to the prime minister's resignation.

Strained by Caucasus War, Azeris Face Internal Split

Following clashes, former Communist is asked to lead

By Colin Barraclough
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

BAKU, AZERBAIJAN

AZERBAIJAN'S former Communist Party boss Geidar Aliyev is poised to return to power in an attempt to end a major political crisis that followed bloody clashes between government and rebel military forces in this former Soviet republic.

Mr. Aliyev, a former Soviet Communist Party Politburo member, has been invited by President Abulfaz Elchibey to become premier but is reportedly negotiating for greater powers.

President Elchibey's government has been shaken by armed clashes on June 4 between government troops and a militia under the control of rival political leader Suret Guseinov in the northern city of Ganja, which left at least 68 dead and more than 200 wounded. Mr. Guseinov's forces are now in full control of the region, the country's second most populous; they are demanding the resignation of the government.

STAFF

The crisis is yet another consequence of the five-year-long war between Azeri and Armenian forces for control of the Armenian-populated region of Nagorno-Karabakh. The war has claimed thousands of lives and turned hundreds of thousands on both sides into refugees. Both Armenia and Azerbaijan on June 9 gave support to a new peace initiative of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, but the militant Armenian government in Karabakh has yet to sign on.

Guseinov was formerly in charge of Azeri forces in the Karabakh war and was replaced by Elchibey in February after an Armenian offensive captured the key Kelbajar region south of Ganja. But the rebel leader remained in effective control of the 709 Division, a several-thousand-strong Army unit based in his hometown of Ganja. By many accounts, his support is widespread. Many local voluriteers, some armed, are reported to have joined Guseinov.

For its part, the Azeri government has bolstered its presence in neighboring regions to a reported 20,000 troops by moving in extra military police units and troops from the Karabakh front line. But opposition reports claim that the government only barely controls the cities of Shamkir and Yevlak. All of Azerbaijan's lines of communication with Georgia – road, rail, and gas lines – pass through the disputed towns.

"Most people in the cities of Yevlak, Shamkir, and Khanlar support Guseinov," said Hudu Hudiyev, head of the opposition Birlik party in Baku. "The government is flying in more troops but they exercise only partial control of these regions."

Elchibey, who denies knowledge of the decision to attack Guseinov's forces, dispatched a delegation of academics to negotiate with the rebel leader. A delegation of high-level officials sent on June 5 was detained by Guseinov and is still being held hostage.

Since his election in June 1992, Elchibey has faced growing criticism throughout the country. Some opposition democrats accuse him of indecision, while others say his government has inherited many of the authoritarian characteristics of the previous Communist regime. Elchibey's emphasis on relations with Turkey has prompted criticism of his seeking another "Big Brother" to replace Russia.

Anti-Russian feelings are rampant in Azerbaijan as the country struggles to pull away from Moscow's control. Russia is widely blamed for the defeats Azerbaijan suffered against Armenia. Some even see Moscow's hand behind the Ganja revolt. The last units of the Russian Army left Ganja recently and Guseinov is believed to have gained control of the weapons they left behind. According to some reports, the June 4 clash was prompted by a government attempt to regain control of those weapons. Guseinov is accused of maintaining ties to Russian officers.

But the bottom line for most Azeris is the conduct of the war in Karabakh and the ruinous economy. Armenian forces have taken control of most of Karabakh and of other contiguous territory. Presidential officials say 43 percent of the national budget is consumed by the war.

Aliyev, now leader of the Nakhichevan region, is widely respected as an elder statesman who can restore stability and end the war with Armenia. Aliyev ran Azerbaijan from 1969-1982, after which he joined the Soviet government in Moscow. He was ousted from the Politburo in 1987 amid charges of corruption, which he denies. He has since made a political comeback here as an Azeri nationalist.

■ *Staff writer Daniel Sneider contributed to this report from Moscow.*

Iran's Leader Sure To Win in Vote, But Snares Lie in Wait

By Stephen Hubbell
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

TEHRAN

ONE year after parliamentary elections sparked violent riots throughout this country, the Iranian authorities have choreographed a presidential campaign devoid of pomp, free debate, boisterous rallies – and suspense.

A rare public-opinion poll published earlier this week showed President Hashemi Rafsanjani moving comfortably toward victory in today's election, 40 points ahead of the nearest of his three approved challengers.

"It's kind of a non-election," remarked one Western diplomat here. "The only real question is whether Rafsanjani can credibly claim overwhelming popular support. The operative word here is 'credibly.' "

Well before the presidential race began, the parliament weeded out candidates the ruling elite found unacceptable. Now, with Iran battling economic decline and international isolation, Mr. Rafsanjani faces a daunting array of real and potential threats.

"The economic problems that brought the troubles last year are even more intense now," says a Western diplomat. "There's no question that as the economy deteriorates the political situation will get worse."

Since his election in 1989, Rafsanjani has tried cautiously to steer his country toward more liberal political end economic policies. But the reforms have faltered.

During the parliamentary campaign last spring, protesters enraged by state corruption and worsening economic conditions rampaged through the streets of several cities, torching government buildings and burning pictures of Rafsanjani and Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, hero of the 1979 Islamic revolution.

THE riots came as a wake-up call for a regime that had long counted on broad support from a loyal – and closely monitored – public. Rafsanjani acted quickly to ensure that this year's presidential contest would result in a validation of his own authority.

But he also was forced to delay temporarily a package of economic reforms due to the popular pressure, a move that has since hit poor Iranians hard and swelled the ranks of his radical opponents.

Rajsanjani's economic reforms also bristled the religious elders, or mullahs, who gave the Iranian revolution its radical Islamic cast. The mullahs, led by Ayatollah Ali Akbar Khamenei, the country's supreme leader, command the loyalty of a large segment of the population. Although Rafsanjani is still closely linked with the mullahs, he has tried to cultivate new political allies among the reemerging business and technocratic elite, a move that has dulled his populist image.

At the old bazaar in downtown Tehran, headquarters of Iran's powerful merchant class, shopkeepers speak guardedly of their preferences. The merchants wield tremendous political clout in Iran, but have largely sat out the campaign, comfortable that Rafsanjani will be reelected.

"The elections are very important for us in the bazaar," said Majid Ali, a spice merchant. When asked if he could recall the names of any of the candidates opposing the president, Mr. Ali reflected a minute, shook his head, and laughed. "I guess I'll have to vote for Rafsanjani."

CHRISTOPHE SIMON/AFP/FILE

RAFSANJANI: *Iran's president has tried to engineer reforms, but the country faces economic decline and international isolation.*

The mullahs also have been angered by the president's long silence on the question of whether the *fatwa* issued by Khomeini against British writer Salman Rushdie remains in force after the Imam's death. Rafsanjani has said that he regards the fatwa as a "religious" matter.

Rafsanjani's efforts to improve ties with the West – particularly the United States – also have been stymied, both by the mullahs and by Washington.

The Clinton administration has shown a profound wariness of improving relations with a state it regards as an exporter of terrorism and a military threat to the region's stability.

Secretary of State Warren Christopher urged Washington's European allies Tuesday to undertake "strong, collective action" to oppose Iran's rearmament program. The Iranian military was badly weakened by its eight-year war with Iraq.

ECONOMY

ROBERT HARBISON – STAFF/FILE

PICKING UP THE PAPER: *Pedestrians buy newspapers and magazines from a street vendor in Greenwich Village, New York. Analysts believe the publishing industry, hit hard by the recession, is on its way to renewed profits.*

Publishing Industry Sees Recovery on the Horizon

By Guy Halverson
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

NEW YORK

THE United States publishing industry is cautiously optimistic about increased sales, higher profits, and – in the case of daily newspapers – stepped-up advertising for the remainder of 1993.

Looking ahead to the late 1990s, multimedia companies within the industry stand to benefit from technological advances in the interactive television/-communications sector, as cable systems give TV watchers 500 or more channels to choose from.

Few people in publishing are yet willing to say that the impact of the recent economic downturn is over. The publishing industry was especially hard hit by the recession due to lost advertising revenues. But there is a growing perception that the bottom has been hit. Advertising revenue is up about 7 percent this year.

Yet publications continue to go out of business. The 92-year old HG (formerly House & Garden) will cease publication in July. This week, two trade journals catering to the advertising industry, Magazine Week and News Inc., announced they are shutting down. Variety, a venerable weekly covering the entertainment industry, announced that, to cut costs, it will begin publishing biweekly during the summer. The number of editorial pages in each issue also will be cut.

Wall Street analysts say that for all the "sturm und drang" of the past two years – reduced advertising lineage, widespread mergers and consolidations, extensive layoffs, and the folding of a number of publications – the industry has stabilized and is poised for modest gains.

For example, the newspaper industry's earnings gains for the first quarter of 1993 were a clear improvement over 1992 fourth-quarter results, say Susan Decker and Bret Rekas, newspaper analysts for Donaldson, Lufkin & Jenrette Inc., an investment house.

But overall, newspapers continue to show a slow and rocky recovery – a situation that could continue into 1994, says Gerald Holtzman, an analyst for Value Line Institutional Services, prviding investment analytical services. If the current recovery falters, advertisers might make new cutbacks in ad campaigns.

THE US publishing industry is divided into two sectors: publishing companies that print books and information materials, and newspapers. Analysts often include magazines in either of these two categories.

The publishing industry, including books, journals, and some magazines, posts better overall financial returns than newspapers. Value Line, in its current June 4 rating of probable stock market performance, lists the publishing industry as No. 44, and the newspaper industry No. 76. (Manufactured housing and recreational vehicles are No. 1; the metals and mining industry is last.)

The publishing industry should post at least average financial performance in the next 12 months, says George I. H. Rho, an analyst for Value Line. But he remains wary of advertising-related ventures, such as magazine publishing, given the current saturation of magazines in the US.

In the past five years, the publishing industry's sales have shot from around $17 billion to about $24 billion. Sales are expected to reach more than $30 billion by the mid-to-late 1990s: Net profit margins are 7 to 8 percent and should be close to 10 percent toward the end of the decade.

The newspaper industry is expected to post total sales above $35 billion this year and more than $40 billion by the mid-1990s. Last year sales were slightly under $35 billion. Net profit was about 5 percent in 1992, up from 3 percent in 1991; net profit is expected to reach more than 5 percent this year and about 8 percent by the end of the 1990s, according to Value Line.

Multimedia companies, involved in "interactive" communication technologies, are the prospective stars of the publishing industry. One such company is News Corporation Ltd., which owns newspapers, magazines, television ventures, and a 20th Century Fox film studio. Mike Mangan, an analyst for Prudential Securities, says the developing entertainment-communications industry will be one of the "growth" sectors of the 1990s.

A Bull and a Bear Clash on US Outlook

SOMETIMES it sounds like economists Lawrence Kudlow and Philip Braverman are talking about different countries. But they are both analyzing the United States economy.

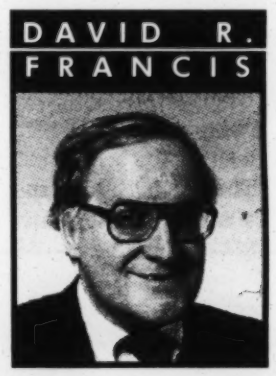
Mr. Kudlow, of Bear, Stearns & Company, New York, forecasts "a stronger economic growth rate over the next four quarters than almost anyone thinks possible." He predicts a real 4-percent annual growth rate for national output with a 4-percent inflation rate pushing the nominal growth rate to 8 percent.

Mr. Braverman, of DKB Securities Corporation, New York, sees a "feeble recovery" ahead. He expects a real 2-percent or less growth rate for gross domestic product (GDP) this spring and summer, rising to perhaps 2.5 percent in the final quarter of the year. That, he says, is his "optimistic" outlook.

"The economy might slip back into recession by the second quarter of 1994," he adds.

Braverman has a reputation for being an economic bear. Kudlow, a supply-sider who was chief economist in President Reagan's budget office, has been more bullish on the economy.

As brokerage house economists, the two are in effect selling the services of their firms to mostly institutional investors – mutual funds, bank trust departments etc. These investors hope a range of views on the economy will help them make better investment decisions. The brokerage houses expect some investment business in return for the views of these economists. Their analysis often includes some view on prospects for interest rates – certainly a key piece of information for bond buyers.



But if investment managers relied on only these two for an economic outlook, they might be wracked by indecision. The economy also has not been much help. GDP showed vigor in the final quarter of 1992 and lethargy in the next quarter.

The employment numbers came out a week ago. Kudlow cheered: "The strength of Friday's employment report took most everyone by surprise, and it signals a more normal recovery pace of 200,000 jobs per month, pointing toward the creation of 2.5 million new jobs this year. In fact, for this year already, the private economy has produced almost 1 million new jobs, the equivalent of more than two Clinton stimulus packages."

Braverman is skeptical. He says it is "nonsense" that the numbers show the economy is strengthening. "True, the employment rate declined to 6.9 percent from 7 percent. And there was a sizable nonfarm payroll gain of 209,000 in May. But this increase can be entirely attributed to a rise in part-time work."

Another survey – of households rather than payrolls – shows a 457,000 increase in part-time workers that, Braverman argues, "suggests permanent nonfarm jobs plunged by more than 248,000 in May." He also notes that the Bureau of Labor Statistics, in compiling the payroll data, adds 80,000 per month to the numbers to reflect the presumed hiring by small business. But the Bureau does not actually survey those small businesses.

Kudlow prefers to note the "whopping" increase of 857,000 jobs in May shown by the household survey.

Braverman sees the 296,000 May jump in nonagricultural, newly self-employed workers as an indication of "job loss, underemployment, and absence of good job opportunities." For example, some laid-off managers, out of desperation, are starting up consulting businesses, he says.

Kudlow welcomes the growth in self-employment as an "important measure of [a rise in] entrepreneurial activity."

Braverman notes that a 0.6 percent rise in average hourly earnings in May is limited to full-time workers and doesn't reflect the earnings decline of part-time or self-employed workers. Kudlow cites that hours worked rose 0.4 hours per week in May.

And so the debate goes on. Braverman won a point when first-quarter GDP numbers were revised down to a 0.9 percent annual rate. Even that low rate, he says, was inflated by a Department of Commerce calculation that a drop in prices pushed up a nominal $2-billion increase in sales of computer and other information equipment to $10.2 billion in real terms. Without that and another similar adjustment, GDP would have grown at only a 0.2-percent annual rate, he figures.

Is the economic bear a better forecaster, or the economic bull?

It's not yet decided. Watch the statistics in months ahead.

SPORTS

World Soccer Shoots for Goal Of US Popularity

By Daniel B. Wood
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

MISSION VIEJO, CALIF.

AS the sun sinks behind craggy hills here, herds of suburbanites shuffle through jammed traffic to the Trabuco Hills High School Football Stadium. Pompom-swirling cheerleaders prance before standing-room-only crowds, air horns reverberate over the cries of hot dog vendors, and a visiting-team crowd punctuates the night air with unrelenting tedium:

"Clap, clap, clap-clap-clap, clap clap clap clap, PERU!"

Peru?

"They're here to help America generate some of the same enthusiasm for soccer as the rest of the world has," says Willie Banks, Deputy Executive Director for World Cup USA 1994, Inc. A crush of visiting international media – La Nueva Prensade, Minimondas, Futbol Primera – broadcasts the proceedings to South America.

Next year, the United States is hosting the world's premier single-sport competition for the first time in history – World Cup, 1994. **(See story, below.)**

Organizers thought it would be nice to fine-tune the host-country team with some international competition while they drummed up a bit more local and national appetite for the sport.

A few eyes will be watching: 1.4 billion watched the last World Cup Final on TV in 1990, three times the viewership for the 1969 moon landing. The cumulative worldwide TV audience for the 24-nation tournament is projected at about 3 billion.

On the field below, the US and Peruvian national teams are zigging and zagging, 22 men in multicolored shorts and over-the-calf sweat socks. They butt shoulders and heads as each side tries to guide the ball in opposite directions through stampedes of churning, cleated feet. When the ball goes airborne, team members volley the ball from head to head.

As a tuneup to the big event, the US Soccer Federation (USSF) this year is hosting a four-country tournament, "US Cup '93," against teams from England, Brazil, and Germany, the countries whose teams have won seven of 14 Cup titles played since the quadrennial series began in 1930. The US is also playing several so-called "international friendlies," like the game in this Southern California suburb.

The operative questions on this late-spring evening, in the town where a pool of about 40 athletes train for 22 berths on the US squad: Is the US team good enough? Do Americans want to watch?

SCORING: *Brazil's Luis Winck shoots past US goaltender Tony Meola for Brazil's second goal in a game played last w*

The answers seem to be "maybe."

"The US has plenty of world-class players, enough to win a championship,"says Alex Eisner, a Peruvian whose brother played for several championship Peruvian teams. "But they need more experience together, working to hone themselves as a team."

"Soccer will never attain the popularity here of American football, basketball, or baseball," says Tommy Perez, an American spectator from Lancaster, about 100 miles north. He notes that the cheering night's crowd is virtually Peruvian fans.

"Next year will change bit," he says. "But America scores. Soccer doesn't that."

The US National Tea record is 100 won, 165 l tied, according to USSF's mer. The current team's says, is 3, 5, and 9. Many in this crowd feel that U heyday passed after seve sional leagues went belly the 1970s. But the US So ation says the popularity has grown steadily for decades.

They point to the most recent successes. In the US "five-a-side" Nati won the silver medal at FIFA (Fédération Interna Football Association) Ind Side World Championshi Kong.

Also last year, the U Team won the inaugural after defeating Ireland a and tying Italy, a three- champion. An under-23 te Gold Medal in the 1992 can Games.

Steve Sampson, assist says this year's men's na has developed a "tremend spirit" that helps keep the

US Cup '93: Four-Nation Dress Rehearsal for the World Tournament

BOSTON

THE Olympics and virtually every traveling world championship of any kind have been held on American soil at least once, and often numerous times.

The lone no-show has been soccer's crown jewel, the World Cup, and that absence will be rectified in summer 1994, when the United States plays host to arguably the globe's premier single-sport competition.

The International Soccer Federation awarded the World Cup to the US in 1988, and now American soccer officials are rushing toward a state of final readiness. The last major dress rehearsal is US Cup '93, a four-nation tournament now under way. It is spread among four of the nine cities that will host next year's 24-team tournament, which begins June 17 and concludes its 43 games on July 17.

This year's schedule for the four "venue" cities are:

June 9: Foxboro Stadium, Mass. – England vs. the US.

June 10: RFK Stadium, Washington – Brazil vs. Germany.

June 13: RFK Stadium, Washington – England vs. Brazil. Soldier's Field, Chicago – US vs. Germany.

June 19: Silverdome, Pontiac, Mich. – Germany vs. England.

(A fifth, nonvenue city, New Haven, Conn., was host to a US Cup match last weekend.)

The public sale of the remaining American tickets starts June 12 for the Chicago and Washington games.

AT Pontiac, the Silverdome will try out a natural grass field (laid over artificial turf) in anticipation of becoming the first indoor facility ever to stage a World Cup game. (World Cup rules specify grass-only fields, and also field dimensions that have required Foxboro Stadium to alter its seating to accommodate a slightly larger playing surface.)

Watching with great interest will be World Cup organizers in the other host cities: Dallas, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Orlando, Fla., and East Rutherford, N.J. (for the New York-New Jersey area).

ABC Sports, which owns the telecasting rights to the World Cup, is providing coverage of US Cup '93 (check local listings). ABC's coverage is commercial-free, at least during the two 45-minute halves of each match, because the network can't risk missing any goals.

Some might wonder what's to see. After all, the Americans entered the US Cup with just one victory in recent international competition.

Alan Rothenberg, president of the US Soccer Federation and the US World Cup organizing committee, claims not be worried by the Americans' record of 1 win, 4 losses, and 7 ties. He realizes the team is taking its knocks in order to be primed later, and in fact the US fared better than many expected during US Cup '92, when it rose to the occasion with victories over Ireland and Portugal and a tie against three-time world champion Italy.

As the host country in '94, the US is an automatic qualifier, as is Germany, the current champion.

At press time, Mexico, Greece, and Russia had also clinched berths.

– Ross Atkin

BRIAN SNYDER/REUTERS

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ing at a high level of energy. "But we need more than spirit," he adds, saying the team must take better control of the attacking one-third of the field. He also feels team members need to do better at getting behind opponents' defenses.

"We need to take more risks," Mr. Sampson says, noting that the team is still experimenting with different lineups that need more time playing together to understand teammate strengths and weaknesses.

"We are missing seven of our best players," adds Mike Lapper, a 22-year-old defensive player, sitting this game out because of an injury. Several US players are members of professional club teams in Europe, whose seasons are just ending.

"The game has been getting faster this year,"says player Dominick Kinnear, in the locker room after the game. "That has made for good practice for playing England, Germany and Brazil."

Though the crowd this night seems uncommitted either to total enthusiasm or boredom, several soccer-watchers say advance interest in 1994's World Cup tournament games is high. Nearly 50,000 seats have been sold for another tournament game at Soldiers Field, Chicago, this weekend. And already 650,000 of the US series total of 900,000 World Cup tickets have been sold., with prices ranging from $25 to $475.

In a bid to host the World Cup finals in 2002, the Japanese have spent billions to create fans for a sport recently of low status, played only by grammar-school children

Japan Wages Soccer Campaign

By Clayton Jones
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

TOKYO

JAPAN kicked off its first professional soccer league last month in a well-plotted national campaign aimed at winning a bid to host the World Cup finals in the year 2002.

The only thing missing from the opening game of the new, 10-team "J. League" were hooligans in the stadium.

J. League officials, eager to imitate European soccer, actually planned to bring in "overly enthusiastic" fans but they could not find enough Japanese who could be raging and spontaneous.

"They would disappear into the crowd too quickly," says Saburo Kawabuchi, J. League's chairman.

But the marketing wizards behind the new league have been able to convert hundreds of thousands of Japanese into sudden soccer fans over the past year, despite the sport's recent lowly status in Japan as something played only by grammar-school kids and much less popular than sumo and baseball.

Trends are easy to create in fad-sensitive Japan, and with Japanese corporations eager to see Japan host the Cup, billions of yen have been invested in the J. League to build grass-roots enthusiasm, or at least the appearance of a soccer boom among young people in the media and in advertising.

Japanese newspapers willingly complied with the national campaign to create soccer "fever." Fans are "delirious," Nikkei reported. The popularity is "astounding," said Yomiuri. The J. League "symbolizes the coming of a new age," according to Asahi.

Why do so many Japanese conform to such trend-making? Postwar education emphasized discipline and restrictions, claims Hiroshi Kawai, a noted psychiatrist, creating "empty-minded people waiting for instructions to be given."

The only troubling question for J. League officials is whether the popularity boom will last until 1996 when soccer's worldwide governing body, known as FIFA, selects the host for the 2002 Cup.

For the opening league game between the Yokohama Marinos and Yomiuri Verdy (which came with a $1.2-million, celebrity-laden sideshow) the TV audience was an unusually high 32.4 percent. But the next day another game between the Kashima Antlers and the Nagoya Grampu got only 9.4 percent.

"The J. League is like a designer league. It has no tradition," said Guido Tognoni, FIFA press officer. "It was designed, researched, and planned in every detail in typical Japanese style. It cannot fail."

TOSHIYUKI AIZAWA/REUTERS

VICTORY SHOUT: *During a game in Kobe, Japan, Chile's Haime Pizerro exults after scoring, as Brazil's Pauro Cear looks on.*

First proposed in the late 1980s, after the United States had been chosen for the 1994 Cup, the J. League primarily serves as a farm system for the national team that will compete in the future Cups. Japan has not qualified for any Cup ever, although it did win a bronze medal in the 1968 Mexico Olympics. Officials admit that if Japan fails to qualify for the 1994 contest in the US, it may not win its bid to host the Cup.

But the Japanese national team competing for the 1994 Cup has done well enough so far to enter the second qualifying round among the Asian teams.

'The J. League ... was designed, researched, and planned in every detail in typical Japanese style. It cannot fail.'

– Guido Tognoni, FIFA press officer

FIFA officials have indicated they want the 2002 Cup to be held in some Asian country and hint that Japan would be the best choice. But Japan faces tough competion from the United Arab Emirates, China, and South Korea, which has proposed co-hosting the Cup with North Korea.

The 1998 Cup will be held in France. Germany is bidding for the 2006 Cup.

J. League officials have tried to learn from the mistakes of the failed North American Soccer League of the 1970s. The US, says Mr. Kawabuchi, allowed too many foreigners on each team and failed to develop local players. It also lacked a system to train young players and it grew too rapidly by creating 24 teams.

But American sports-marketing techiques, such as merchandising of soccer-related items, is being imitated in a big way to raise revenues. And the European system of creating home-town loyalties to a soccer team was also copied.

Most sports teams in Japan are tied to big companies, but J. League is trying a risky experiment in regional rivalry.

J. League decided to allow three imported soccer players per team until Japan is able to develop its own stars. "By 2002, we will be top level in the world," says Kawabuchi. Japan also lacks coaches and professional referees.

A total of 45 foreign players have been bought at high salaries. The biggest star is Gary Lineker, who was captain of England's national team last year. He is backed by Toyota Motor Corp., which hopes to boost its image in Europe by using his name. Lineker has been somewhat frustrated by the Japanese style of play, which uses short passes.

Other stars include Zico of Brazil, who has played in three Cups, and Pierre Littbarski, a star from Germany's 1990 World Cup champion team. Former Dutch striker Marius Johan Ooft manages Japan's national team.

Japan's biggest soccer star is Miura (Kazu) Kazuyoshi of the Verdy team. He is noted for his unusual dance of jubilation after he scores.

The construction industry in Japan likes the new league because some 15 stadiums will be needed to host the Cup, each with at least 40,000 seats. The average soccer stadium in Japan has only 15,000 seats. And Japan's television-makers also like the prospects of selling more high-definition sets because they display soccer play particularly well compared to baseball.

J. League will need an average of 30,000 spectators per match, "otherwise it will be painful financially," says Kawabuchi.

For help, the league hopes the government will approve a lottery for soccer matches, modeled after Britain's pool betting. But the move has faltered because of reports of top politicians illegally gambling on mah-jongg, a popular game in Japan.

Worried that fans might lose interest if too many games end in tie scores, the J. League sought reluctant permission from FIFA to use the "sudden death" rule. In case of a tie, an extra 30 minutes is given for one side to score. Then if there is still a tie, the winner is decided by penalty kicks. "The Japanese have a tendency not to like a draw," said Kawabuchi. "We need some decision."

FREEZE FRAMES

A weekly update of film releases

By David Sterritt

■ LIFE WITH MIKEY
The hero is a former child actor who now represents other not-so-talented kids as an agent. Business is bad, but his future will be secure if the 10-year-old he's just discovered can land a job as TV-commercial star for a giant cookie company. Trouble is, she's as naughty as she is gifted, and her penchant for petty crime threatens to land her in the slammer instead of the spotlight. Some dull stretches and a sentimental ending aside, this is the funniest TV-inspired comedy since "Soapdish," with likable performances by Michael J. Fox and newcomer Christina Vidal, plus a gaggle of young supporting players with terrific flair for portraying stage-struck children who have no flair at all. Directed by James Lapine, best known for his work in the New York theater, from Marc Lawrence's screenplay. Alan Menken, the able composer of "Aladdin" and "Beauty and the Beast," wrote the music. *(Rated PG)*

■ ROMPER STOMPER
The awful adventures of a neo-Nazi skinhead gang in an Australian city, as seen through the eyes of a sexually abused teenager who becomes the leader's girlfriend. The appalling violence of the main characters, inflicted first on Asian immigrants and later on the heroine's dysfunctional father, goes far beyond the once-notorious excesses of "A Clockwork Orange," which clearly influenced some aspects of the movie; the sex is rough, as well. The horrors have a serious message to convey, however, suggesting that prejudice and xenophobia can quickly become hatred and mayhem when not confronted by a society alert to the insidious dangers of bigotry in all its forms. Written and directed by newcomer Geoffrey Wright, and winner of three Australian Film Institute awards including a best-actor prize for Russell Crowe as the chief skinhead. *(Rated NC-17)*

'Jurassic Park' is Pure Spielberg

The exotic setting and prehistoric critters bear the filmmaker's high-tech stamp

By David Sterritt
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

NEW YORK

IT is well known that going to a typical Steven Spielberg movie is like attending an amusement park. So it's not surprising that Mr. Spielberg has now made a movie *about* an amusement park – and no ordinary park, but a walloping extravaganza stuffed with thoroughly Spielbergian thrills.

I suppose it was inevitable that Spielberg would crank out an entertainment like "Jurassic Park," given the trajectory of his career. And it's probably just as well that he has turned his talent in this direction – flighty and frivolous though it is – at this stage in his development.

After earning a reputation as one of Hollywood's most dependable money-spinners, with pictures like "E.T. The Extra-Terrestrial" and the Indiana Jones epics, Spielberg has been trying to wax mature in his more recent films. For all their ambition, however, the romantic drama "Always" and the mythical free-for-all "Hook" seem to strain at their grown-up agendas rather than slide gracefully into them. There's only one kind of movie that Spielberg has truly mastered: the kind that

FILM

looks like a wide-screen video game complete with loony plot twists and mind-bending special effects.

And that's "Jurassic Park" down to its bones. Vivid and violent enough to stretch the PG-13 rating to its limit, it will delight Spielberg fans, reassuring them that he isn't trying *too* hard to grow up, but still has time to put them on a rollercoaster ride now and then.

Based on Michael Crichton's novel (1992, Alfred A. Knopf), the film takes place on an island where an eccentric zillionaire named John Hammond has realized an amazing dream: Using cells extracted from mosquitoes preserved in prehistoric tree sap, he has cloned a colony of dinosaurs that live, breathe, and clomp around exactly as their ancestors did before their species became extinct. His motive is less to advance the cause of science than to provide exotic entertainment in the most audacious theme park ever built.

Hammond's idea may sound great, but as the old science-fiction cliché says, there are things mankind wasn't meant to tamper with. Before the park opens its doors, its computer-controlled operation goes kerflooey – thanks to a greedy employee who's trying to smuggle dinosaur embryos off the island – and the genetically engineered giants run amok.

MURRAY CLOSE/TM & UNIVERSAL CITY STUDIOS & AMBLIN

SPOOKED: *Child actors Joseph Mazello and Ariana Richards with Laura Dern and Sam Neill in the film.*

Caught in the chaos are Hammond's two grandchildren and some scientists he's invited to give the park their seal of approval. Can the handsome paleontologist, the pretty paleobotanist, and the witty but cynical mathematician save the youngsters (and themselves) from the wily Diplodocus, the terrifying Tyrannosaurus Rex, and the dangerously klutzy Brontosaurus? No sweat – but only after two hours of chills, spills, and harrowingly close shaves.

Still working on the adult image he wants to acquire, Spielberg has injected "Jurassic Park" with a few serious questions. The movie asks whether humanity has lost respect for nature to a dangerous degree; whether we now think of science as an intellectual game rather than a key to understanding; whether there *are* things mankind wasn't meant to tamper with. Regrettably, the film never gets around to exploring these issues, since chases, races, and hairbreadth escapes are its main concern in virtually every scene.

Another interesting question raised by "Jurassic Park" is whether Spielberg consciously intended it as a symbolic study of his own life as a filmmaker, or whether this dimension crept into the movie without the director's awareness. Hammond's park isn't sort of like a Spielberg production, it's *exactly* like a Spielberg production – complete with exotic settings, marvelous creatures, and marketing tie-ins like lunchboxes with Jurassic Park logos. It even has a Spielbergian budget: "We've spared no expense!" crows Hammond over and over, taking childlike pride in the sheer hugeness of his enterprise.

Since everything goes wrong in Hammond's prehistoric playground, should we conclude that Spielberg is criticizing the notion of devoting vast resources to escapism and spectacle, rather than to developing knowledge and improving the world – a statement that would amount to a surprisingly mature self-criticism of his own cinematic career to date?

Apparently not. Hammond's sin, the movie eventually makes clear, is not his ambition to be the ultimate impresario. Instead it's the fact that he dared to create something real, like a world of living creatures, instead of something fake, like a glitzy Spielberg movie.

TRUTH may be stranger than fiction, Spielberg and company tell us, but fiction is a lot more safe and comfy – and can earn you a fortune without the unpleasant possibility of risking anything but your producers' money. Faced with the choice of spectacle or substance, Spielberg still favors spectacle by a wide margin.

As pure spectacle, "Jurassic Park" works as well as anything else Hollywood's high-tech wizards have given us lately. It's derivative in spots – the classic "King Kong" and the amusing "Gremlins" obviously inspired some of its better dinosaur ideas – but the special effects are simply astounding, with utterly lifelike monsters jostling humans who sometimes don't seem half as convincing.

The acting is also on target, within the limitations of a movie that cares more about action and fantasy than credible motivation and well-rounded characters.

Sam Neill and Laura Dern make a nice couple as the paleontological heroes, and Jeff Goldblum brings his unique humor to the mathematician whose knowledge of chaos theory proves too theoretical to help much.

And it's a pleasure to see Richard Attenborough on screen for the first time in 14 years. He's a first-rate character actor when he isn't busy being a third-rate movie director, and he makes Hammond a surprisingly engaging character.

The supporting cast includes Josh Mostel and Samuel L. Jackson as well as Ariana Richards and Joseph Mazzello as the threatened kids of the story. The rich cinematography is by Dean Cundey, and the split-second editing is by Michael Kahn, a regular member of Spielberg's team. David Koepp and Mr. Crichton wrote the screenplay. John Williams composed the rip-roaring music.

■ *"Jurassic Park" has received a PG-13 rating for what the rating board describes as "intense science-fiction terror." The film contains a great deal of violence, some of which could be extremely frightening for young children, and some vulgar language.*

Mark Morris's Democracy of Dance

By April Austin
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BOSTON

MARK MORRIS'S work has a solid, certain quality these days, as if he has arrived at some inevitable destination in his choreography. That inevitability is the result of knowing exactly what he wants, knowing the strengths of his dancers, and harnessing the power of music.

Each spring, Morris returns to the Boston area like a bird from a warmer climate: This year, again under the sponsorship of Dance Umbrella, his group dropped in for a six-week residency and two weeks of performances that end tomorrow. Dance Umbrella's director Jeremy Alliger deserves credit for building a relationship between New England audiences and Morris's troupe by giving this talented choreographer an annual showcase.

The company brought two programs to the Emerson Majestic Theatre, the first of which ended last Sunday. That batch of dances was by far the finest and most accessible of Morris's choreography. Morris is at his best in a storytelling mode, often when he plays off modern gestures against rich classical music, particularly Baroque. He delights in fugal compositions, and watching his choreography is like having someone diagram a fugue in all its intricate beauty.

In the Program A dance "Canonic 3/4 Studies," set to an arrangement of waltzes, Morris has created a slapstick fugue. He pays homage to silent film and the jerky antics of such performers as Buster Keaton. The dancers move rigidly like mechanical toys. In a series of moves, a male dancer picks up and rearranges two stiff-legged female dancers like straw figures. Various members of the company tootle around on their toes as if they were tickling piano keys.

In "Sonata for Clarinet and Piano," the choreographer seems to be concerned with group dynamics, and how the individual fits (or does not fit) into the whole. (Many of Morris's dances embody a democratic ideal; he places more emphasis on the collective energy than on displays of individual virtuosity. Instead of extended solos, the performers work together to build the dance's personality and character.) Here Morris explores the idea of an outsider by having one dancer step outside the group to express his individuality. The dancer faces temporary rejection by the group and must later win back his place.

To the strains of Poulenc, dancers in pink sleeveless turtlenecks and black tights dip as if to touch baptismal water. They bless the person who is leaving, but they also censure him. They come and go onstage, greeting, leaving, and returning in a pensive, elegiac manner.

From Poulenc's powerful score, Morris moved to the ballads of contemporary singer Michelle Shocked for the dance "Home." One of the consistent pleasures of a Mark Morris dance concert is the live music. The singer, whose voice glides between an airy soprano and a country-and-western twang, joined Rob Wasserman on upright bass and fiddle for their four-song set. Shocked's lyrics are a kind of Woody Guthrie gone sour – they describe farms and working people in terms of sadness, loss, and disinfranchisement, and they are riveting.

Instrumental interludes separate the mournful ballads in "Home." They are livelier and more cheerful, especially because the dancers move into a routine that combines clogging-style dance with some aspects of soft-shoe. "Home" is an integrated dance that successfully mixes Americana with a hard-edged 1990s sensibility.

Program B, which has been going on this week, pales a bit in comparison to the earlier program. Contemporary classical music (such as Henry Cowell's string quartets) doesn't draw out Morris's best work. Because he does better with storytelling and lacks the large abstract-movement vocabulary of a Martha Graham, Morris's efforts with modern music can be repetitious.

TWO dances that shone above the others were "Bedtime," set to three songs by Schubert, and the world première (commissioned by Dance Umbrella) of "Jesu, Meine Freude," set to Bach.

"Bedtime" travels through ever-deeper regions of sleep, symbolized by cradling and rocking motions. The dancers begin in fetal position and their vulnerability is touching. Nightmarish menace erupts in "Erlkönig," the third song, in which a young child is stolen by the Erlking from the arms of his father.

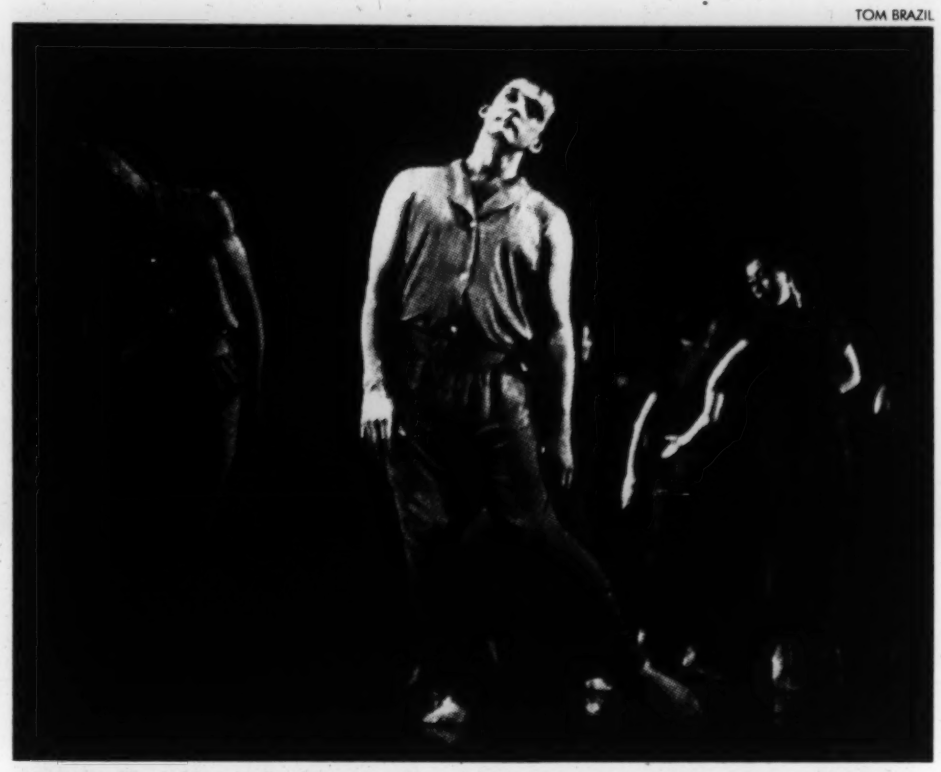
In "Jesu, Meine Freude," it was hard to compete with the chorus, led by Boston's Craig Smith. To the glorious ebbing and flowing of choral waves, the dancers were only a minor, though compelling, accompaniment. Morris tapped "Jesu, Meine Freude" for its religious inspiration, but his choreography is less about redemption than it is heavy and dogmatic, with poses taken from devotional paintings and Christian iconography.

The dancers, clothed and lighted in stark white, were so connected to the music that they pulsed with it. For a choreographer to convey his musicality so completely to a group of dancers is in itself an achievement.

■ *Morris's company performs at The Egg in Albany, N.Y., on June 18; in Aspen, Colo., July 15-17; and at Jacob's Pillow in Lee, Mass., July 20-24.*

DANCE

TOM BRAZIL



'BEDTIME': *Mark Morris (in foreground) and his company travel through ever-deeper regions of sleep, accompanied by three enchanting Schubert songs.*

Settlement Loosens Cable Monopoly

NEW YORK

SEVEN cable giants reached an agreement with 40 states settling charges that they sought to thwart new television technologies – like wireless cable – by restricting access to popular cable programming.

"They were using their monopoly position in a bludgeoning way," said New York Attorney General Robert Abrams in Wednesday's announcement.

But lawyers for the cable companies said the settlement virtually duplicates a federal law and that their business practices already meet the requirements of the settlement.

"The bottom line is it isn't very different from the cable act passed in October 1992," said Robert Joffe, attorney for Time Warner, the owner of the nation's second-largest cable company.

Rivalry between the major cable companies and their newer-technology competitors led to a cable-television regulatory bill that Congress enacted last October. It requires cable companies to provide their competitors equal access to popular programming.

Mr. Abrams said the settlement imposes tougher provisions. It seeks to make popular programming, much of which is owned by the cable giants, equally available to companies that use new, noncable technologies.

Among the programming controlled by the companies is Cable News Network, Turner Network Television, Showtime, HBO, the Discovery Channel, MTV, and VH-1.

Equal access will mean more competition, Abrams said, and, for consumers, that will mean better and more TV service at lower prices. He expects all 50 states to eventually sign the settlement, which also requires that the companies pay $4.75 million in settlement costs.

– Associated Press

WORTH NOTING ON TV

By Elizabeth Levitan Spaid

■ **SUNDAY**

National Geographic Explorer: Volga, The Soul of Russia *(TBS, 9-11 p.m.):* The Volga snakes its way across about 2,300 miles of Russia and is the longest river in Europe. This program takes a journey to some of the cities and villages that line its banks. We meet a captain who spent most of his life directing cruise ships along its surface. Residents of one city talk about how they're coping with the sharp rise in street gangs and lawlessness since communism's demise. The program provides an interesting peek into different slices of Russian life.

■ **MONDAY**

Rough Guide *(PBS, 10-11 p.m.):* No touring buses and trips to typical tourist haunts on this travel series. "Rough Guide," which airs on eight consecutive Mondays, heads to offbeat and unlikely destinations. In the first segment, hip British hosts Sankha Guha and Magenta De Vine – the latter never takes off her trademark sunglasses even in dark, dreary catacombs – explore Australia. They start in Cairns, home of the Great Barrier Reef and an area where local students learn Japanese in order to cater to the exploding Japanese population. Then on to the Outback, where female ranchhands – known as jillaroos – perform many of the same duties as men, except that the women have the additional task of cooking and cleaning at days' end. The final stop is ethnically diverse Melbourne, where a group called the Cave Clan holds meetings in the city's underground maze of drain tunnels. "Rough Guide" is a fast-paced program geared to a younger audience. Although it sometimes gives short shrift to a subject just when a viewer's interest is starting to pique, the program is full of unexpected and interesting travel tidbits. Future destinations include Sicily and New Zealand.

Please check local listings for all programs, especially the one on PBS.

ODYSSEY

The National Park Service copes with another season of rescuing poorly prepared climbers who take on North America's highest peak

Special Dangers Face McKinley Climbers

By Yereth Rosen
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

TALKEETNA, ALASKA

A YEAR after the deadliest season on Mount McKinley, the National Park Service is boosting patrols, sharpening rescue skills, and redoubling safety education for North America's tallest peak.

The team of elite mountaineering park rangers stationed here in Talkeetna, Alaska, the launching site for most McKinley expeditions, spent part of the spring practicing pickups while dangling from the end of a 100-foot rope in nearby hills.

Each ranger will be accompanied on his mountain patrol this summer by up to three elite rescue specialists from the Air National Guard in Anchorage, Alaska. Also stationed here is a dedicated Talkeetna-based high-altitude helicopter whose pilot learned rescue skills plucking survivors from behind battle lines in Vietnam. Military helicopter crews from Fairbanks serve as backups.

"As far as expertise, I don't think there's anybody anywhere that has the crew that we have," says J.D. Swed, chief mountaineering ranger for Denali National Park, during a break in recent rescue training. "We're absolutely pushing the envelope open further and further as far as rescue is concerned."

That, critics say, is part of the problem on the 20,320-foot peak known by Alaskans as Denali, the Athabaskan Indian name meaning "The High One."

Debates are growing over the government's responsibility for rescuing climbers on the mountain: Unlike the practice at most of the world's major climbing peaks, no fees, bond, or insurance are required of those who scale it.

"That's really getting into a touchy subject, especially around here, especially with the taxpayers," grumbled a burly local man in the rustic Fairview Inn, the linchpin of Talkeetna's tiny downtown district. "All those people want to climb those hills, and when they get into trouble, they expect to be rescued."

The Park Service says it spent $206,000 and the military spent $225,345 rescuing climbers or retrieving bodies from McKinley last year.

That is a small amount compared with the entire Park Service's 1992 search-and-rescue costs of $3 million and pales next to annual search-and-rescue spending by the United States Coast Guard and other federal agencies, Park Service officials say.

Many mountaineers here say the campaign to single out McKinley climbers for rescue fees is unfair.

"There's lots of outdoor recreationists who don't get charged, and they do a lot of silly things," says Todd Miner, head of the University of Alaska Anchorage's wilderness studies program.

Often the debate takes on a nationalistic tone.

NEAL J. MENSCHEL – STAFF/FILE

MT. MCKINLEY: *A DeHaviland Otter plane ferries supplies to climbers at the 7,000-feet-high Kahiltna Glacier base camp. Mountaineers are becoming concerned about overcrowding.*

"Americans we rescue are already paying for it. They're taxpayers," says Lt. Col. Larry Brooks, commander of the Air Guard rescue squad backing up Denali mountaineering rangers.

He sympathizes with critics who resent the costly and sometimes risky rescues launched for foreign climbers, he says. Like others, he considers many of the foreign climbers on McKinley to be more reckless than US mountaineers.

"I don't think they have the respect and the understanding of how complicated this mountain can be," he says.

Statistics support that argument. Foreigners account for about one-third of McKinley's climbers, but since 1986 they have accounted for 26 of the 29 deaths on the peak and up to three-quarters of the rescues annually.

Climbers with experience or designs on the Himalayas sometimes dismiss the dangers on near-Arctic McKinley, which is whipped by storms unheard of on more southern peaks, experts say. McKinley's summit elevation, some 6,000 to 8,700-feet lower than the Himalayas, is also deceptive, because the atmospheric layer is thinner near the poles than it is near the equator, they say.

Foreign climbers may also be pushing harder than their US counterparts to reach the peak because a return trip to Alaska is more expensive and difficult for them.

There are some signs that Europeans are taking McKinley more seriously than they did in the past.

"Its reputation is a very cold mountain," says Christian Labie, a Belgian exploring Talkeetna after skiing McKinley's flanks with two French companions.

But changing the attitude of some Korean climbers – the nationality most likely in recent years to get into trouble on the mountain – will be a longer process, Mr. Swed believes.

Mountaineering is hugely popular in South Korea, where tens of thousands of people belong to alpine clubs, says Swed, who made a special trip to Seoul this winter to speak about the mountain's challenges. He says social and economic pressures may be largely to blame for the Koreans' troubles.

To attempt McKinley's summit costs the average Korean climber $10,000, Swed says, and corporate sponsors – often the climbers' employers – pick up the tab. That means extra pressures for success. "If they don't summit, they bring dishonor on their company," Swed says.

Many Koreans also consider McKinley a training climb for the Himalayas, he discovered.

"That's the problem. They prove themselves here. They don't necessarily take small steps to get here," says Swed, who is trying to convince the Koreans to try Oregon's Mount Hood or Washington's Mount Ranier before they attempt the Alaskan peak.

Swed anticipates another future problem beyond overambitious Koreans: a wave of would-be mountaineers with skills honed in now-fashionable climbing gyms – facilities with artificial rock walls designed for indoor ascents – but little experience in the Alaskan outdoors.

Last year's death toll of 11, if anything, has intensified interest in climbing McKinley. Officials and local businesses are bracing for a crowd that could beat last year's record 1,070 who ascended the peak. The climbing season runs from late April to early July: As of May 30, rangers reported, 835 climbers have been on the mountain, and one American climber has died.

Meanwhile, three US television networks, a Quebec filmmaker, and a US reality-based rescue television show hope to produce specials from the mountain, the Park Service reports.

A Princeton University group is mounting an expedition to raise money for AIDS research, and other climbers are fundraising for similar causes. A Santa Barbara radio station has inquired about setting up to air daily broadcasts from the mountain as a local celebrity makes his ascent; the Park Service has also fielded requests from publicity-seeking parasailers who want to use the mountain to promote a message.

All this raises a new danger – the overcrowding and hyping of North America's tallest peak. In recent years, The High One has been no place for a solitary wilderness experience, mountaineers concede.

"I've been twice on McKinley in summer. I will never go again," says Labie, who prefers off-season travel to the mountain. "There is so much space in Alaska where you can find wilderness, it is not necessary to go in Denali National Park."

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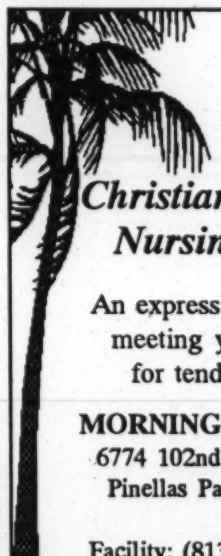

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The Home Forum.

Lessons in Letting Go

JON and I were astonished as we sat listening to Juniper, our eldest daughter, patiently give us simple, clear instructions on the art of communicating with her.

"When you ask a question, don't say it in a way that can be answered yes or no. Use these three words: how, what, why."

Jon and I looked at each other. After 18 years of communicating adequately with our daughter, she was telling us we could do a better job.

She continued to press her point. "You're always saying that I don't tell you enough lately, but you have to ask questions in a way that will leave the doors open for a reply."

"This is remarkable," I thought. "Our daughter is showing more maturity than we are."

"OK," I said. I was willing to make an adjustment in the way I phrased a question, if it would help. "What kind of steps did you learn in dance class today?"

I think I'm getting more adept at phrasing my questions. It's important to me to keep communicating with Juniper. And I keep thinking that there ought to be classes for parents who are nearing parental retirement. It's not an easy transition. These days, I am no longer the teacher. I am the student in a rapidly changing classroom. This relationship, which started out with me carrying her on my back, helping her over puddles no larger than a dinner plate, and teaching her how to read and write, has switched now, like a picture in which the foreground suddenly becomes the background. Overnight, Juniper is striding into the foreground while I stand back to watch her take charge of her life.

This is a natural transition, so it ought to be easy, but it isn't. The lessons for a suddenly retired mother pile up over the months, and so do the questions.

For instance, when I ask Juniper to phone before she starts up the hill from Fort Collins in the evening, after her dance class, am I being a worried mother again, or is this a reasonable request? Juniper thinks this is evidence that I'm worrying too much. I disagree. When the family car is an '81 Chevy with thousands of miles on it and a cooling system that only operates because of Stop Leak, I prefer to know when people begin the 45-mile trek home.

I try to remember how I felt about going anywhere when I was Juniper's age. I do remember. Cars were reliable machines, and my friends and I were reliable individuals. We could handle any problems we encountered, and we didn't encounter any. This is how Juniper feels, too.

"The car only leaks when *you* drive it. It likes me. When the radio's on, it buzzes when there's a policeman around, and the other night the 'check engine' light went on just in time for me to see a hare in the road. When I slowed down for it, the light went off and didn't come on again the whole trip!"

I'm sure these revelations are intended to be comforting, and it's true that she has developed more rapport with the car than any of us over the preceding months. She's been driving to the community college down the mountain through snow, sleet, hail, and rain, and she hasn't missed a class despite my encouragements to do so on some mornings.

I SHOULD rejoice in these signs of independence and responsibility, and I do. She filled out numerous college applications for next year, completed financial-aid forms alone, investigated (and secured) a job at a local Morgan horse farm in exchange for riding lessons, and found a summer job. As I look at this evidence piling up, doesn't it mean that it's time for me to respect these signs of maturity? It is a profound egotism that makes us think we can live for our children, or that they would even want us to.

"Treat her like a 35-year-old beloved house guest," Jon suggests one day when I am bending his ear about the situation. I think about this advice all evening when I think of Juniper. I try to envision her not as my daughter but as a cherished 35-year-old friend who has come for a breezy visit to share her exciting life with us. It's easy until the next day when I'm cleaning house and encounter Juniper's "file" – a kitchen chair in the dining room overflowing with letters from colleges, notes to herself about homework and work assignments, a star chart, a fishing-tackle box, a "Field Guide to American Wildlife," stationery, and other items buried too deep to analyze. My policy with this chair has been "hands off," but I find myself wondering if this can really be the file of that 35-year-old house guest Jon talked about.

I can't complain, however. She might have learned this method from me. The four corners of our kitchen table hold piles of newspapers, half-finished letters, dictionaries, various books and magazines, and notes to ourselves exhorting action on college deadlines, calling friends, or writing projects. We make periodic attempts to clear the table, and the person clearing it inevitably throws away the very note that is most needed.

One of the colleges mentioned in the notes sent a pamphlet to parents of incoming freshmen. This pamphlet is an effort to prepare parents for the shock of realizing that their children are now adults. The pamphlet encourages parents to let their older children make their own mistakes with homework and life problems, gently advises them not to visit too often, and by all means to call before they visit. "Did you read that?" Juniper asks, when I (again) ask one question too many.

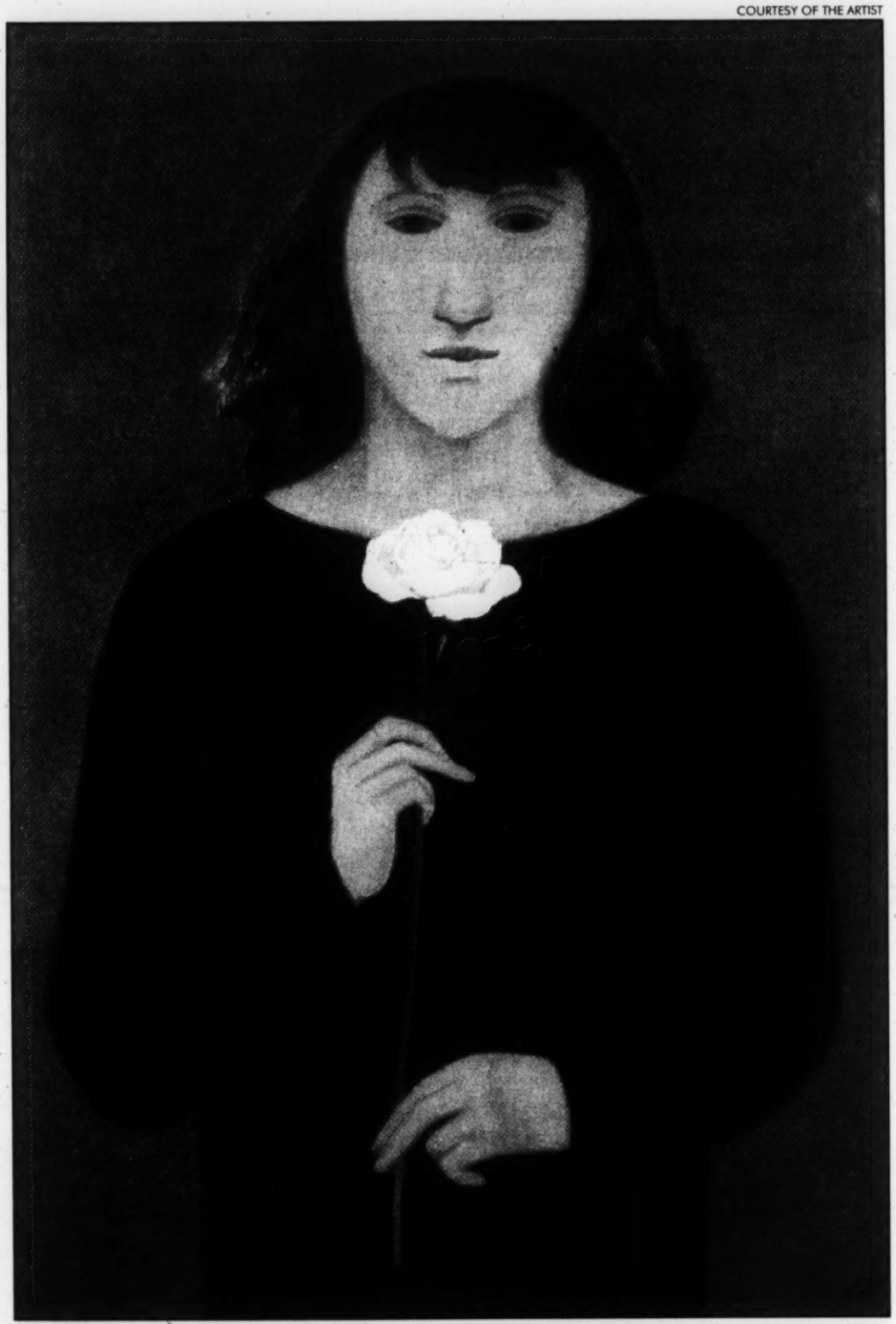
Yes, I did. And while I find myself making progress with this "letting go" process, I also find that my progress isn't as fast as hers. It has more the pattern of two steps forward and one step back than full steam ahead. If I were in a "parental-retirement class," I'm not sure what my grade would be. Some days I wonder if I have a grade. The opportunities for being too involved, or for asking too many questions, (or not enough of the right kind), occur daily, sometimes hourly.

I catch glimpses of what life will be like when I get through the "class." I'm discovering that the sense of freedom and expanding horizons isn't just for Juniper. There's a feeling of release when I'm able to step aside and realize that Juniper can take charge of her own life. I have a sense of newness and of fresh possibilities. I feel as if life is starting over, and I have more to offer that I haven't fully discovered.

These rewarding feelings aren't always tangible in the tangle of sorting through what is and isn't my responsibility now, but the glimpses I've had of them assure me that valuable lessons are included in this present experience, lessons that will open up new possibilities for both of us, for our future apart, and for our communication together.

Laura Remmerde

COURTESY OF THE ARTIST



'ONE WHITE ROSE' (1991): *Oil on masonite, 24 by 18 in., by Erika Weihs.*

The Fitting Room

I love watching other women being fitted
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of those paper patterns dressmakers keep

stowed away in special drawers. These
dressmakers cherish old patterns as you

and I cherish old love letters, the patterns, like the letters, serving as

reminders that something once thought
perfect may eventually return to favor.

Constance Pultz

The Right Kind Of Nosy Neighbor

A DELIGHTFUL young lady graces the property across the way, and what with her school hours and the substantial philanthropic burden that my schedule imposes, I had not seen her lately.

I'm speaking of last March, and the snowbanks prevented either of us from direct visual attention. But as March waned, we had a heat wave that lifted the thermometer to 10 below for two days together, and that evening Miss Robina tingled my telephone alarm and asked, "Are you all right?"

It was quite late – for me.

I had taken a roulade with red cabbage support, a hot potato salad, some "riz" biscuits, a small snatch of green peas, a slice of pumpernickel. Dozing after this exercise in my easy chair I had softly dreamed that I was going back to Freudenstadt and was distantly content.

So at 7:30, going on 8, I bade the bustling world my fondest farewell, nipped into my Doctor Dentons, and entered into the blissful state of well-earned repose. It was then that Miss Robina signaled, and I was obliged to give her the absolute truth – yes, I was all right.

JOHN GOULD

Miss Robina said, "Well, I'm glad!"

I said I was equally delighted, and what might I do for her?

She said, "You left your shop light on, and I'm just checking."

The warm spell had beguiled me. I had not done a tap in my workshop since October had called for mittens, and now with a near-springlike salubrity I got carried away. I had reinforced the legs on a lovely mahogany coffee table that had been a wedding gift back in 1932 and had lost its stability sometime back when, I surmise, one of the grandchildren stood on it to hang decorations for Grammy's 80th birthday.

This small chore needed delicate work, for I had to ribbon-saw the pieces to fit the contour and then drill all the screw holes at curious angles. I was pleased that job was done, and understandably went from shop to house when the tocsin boomed without pulling the string on my illumination. Hence Robina concerned for my situation.

I told the young lady that as she grows older, which she is about to do, she will find that one of the most startling moments she will have will come when she realizes, one golden day, that simple things she used as a child, perhaps just after they were invented, have suddenly and most unexpectedly become priceless antiques. Such, I said, as this beautiful mahogany table, which may have cost as much as $15 when loving friends sent it to celebrate our nuptials 61 years ago.

The springtimes became autumns, the years became decades, and while nobody was giving the little table a thought it sat there before the long divan, bearing now a bowl of peanuts, now a rosebud, now an advent wreath, and perhaps anon a stack of New Yorkers.

It takes a heap o'living to make a house a home, and there was that little table acquiring antiquity.

I remember Miss Robina interrupted to say she just happened to notice and thought she'd call. I told her I wouldn't bother to dress and go put out the light now, but first thing in the morning I'd pull the string. Besides, I said, I am a kind and generous man, and the Central Maine Power Company is verging on fiscal failure and needs the money. Miss Robina got a good laugh out of that one.

Then I said I had no intention of discouraging her in this kind of neighborly vigil. Out here in our relative wilderness it is good manners to keep an eye on neighbors and be sure from time to time that they are, as she put it, "all right." If, for instance, you notice a tree has crushed a piazza, or a henhouse is giving off smoke, the words "snoop" or "nosy" don't apply. That is, we're glad for Robinas.

So I told her I got my little table repaired so it can go back into service. I told her the day would come when she would find that something she thought nothing of now would fetch fantastic funds at a flea market.

But, I said, I guess there's more to it than that. When you find, I told Robina, that something you cherish, like a mahogany table, has come so far it needs repairing, it's more than enough to excuse you for forgetting a light.

More Than an Inch of Freedom

EARLIER this year, *The New York Times* ran an article describing a business gimmick that had turned into a land rush in China. An enterprising company in the United States was selling deeds to a square inch of land in each of the fifty states. But what was purely a novelty to many became serious business in China, the article reported.

People there believed—mistakenly—that owning even a square inch of property would help them get a visa to a free country. And some of them were willing to sacrifice up to $1,700 for at least the right to hope for freedom.

What is it that fuels such desires? Isn't it the longing to be free to express ourselves, to progress, to learn, and to act without fear of oppression? While the quest for liberty often takes a political direction—hope for a change in government, perhaps, or for a move to a new country—the roots of freedom go much deeper. The Bible speaks, for example, of the Israelites' journey from bondage in Egypt to eventual peace in the Promised Land as a quest for freedom. The story of their trials, as they learned the spiritual basis of true liberty, is almost like a parable for our times. They faced discouraging obstacles in the form of the desert and of aggressive enemies. Internal bickering, confusion, and distrust of their leaders are recurring themes. But through it all, the theme of man's relationship to God emerges and gives focus to their lives.

The Christian Science Monitor's Religious Article

Moses' ministry was designed specifically to show the Israelites that man has a special relationship to God. Under the direction of divine Mind, God, they received food and drink and were protected from their enemies. When they deviated from God's guidance, however, they got into trouble—just as someone who takes a wrong turn and goes off the main road. In essence, the Israelites were learning that the way to gain permanent freedom is to live in obedience to God.

One of the most eloquent statements of this relationship between humanity and Deity is in the book of Deuteronomy in the Bible. There, Moses tells the people, "See, I have set before thee this day life and good, and death and evil; in that I command thee this day to love the Lord thy God, to walk in his ways, and to keep his commandments and his statutes and his judgments, that thou mayest live and multiply: and the Lord thy God shall bless thee in the land whither thou goest to possess it."

No matter what political system we live under, each of us can know the freedom and prosperity that come from such obedience to God. And whether our quest brings us literally into a promised land or transforms the land we are in, the cause of freedom is furthered by every individual contribution through prayer.

Such prayer requires us to recognize and to be grateful for any freedom we already express, however small. The freedom to breathe, to see, to hear, to think—these might be grist for our gratitude. But we can expand these ideas to include a more spiritual aspect.

We can be grateful for the provable fact that man is spiritual and can never be separated from God. Christ Jesus brought out this point again and again. That it is still true is illustrated by the experience of many people who have been helped to freedom through prayer.

We can see the power of this spiritual law in our individual lives by expressing love, intelligence, goodness, and joy. And we broaden the scope of our prayers when we look for evidences of these and other spiritual qualities in others—even in those we may think of as enemies.

While we should never excuse wrongdoing, we can pray to know that God's man is spiritual. Therefore he is lawful, wise, pure, and good. These qualities, wherever we find them, are what is real and worthy of our respect. Whatever opposes these and similar attributes is actually powerless to touch our real being because we are, in reality, totally spiritual. Understanding these spiritual facts not only helps us to build bridges to others; it also reveals to us something of Spirit's, of God's, omnipresence.

Mary Baker Eddy, the Discoverer and Founder of Christian Science, has much to say about freedom in her book *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures.* In one place she writes: "Discerning the rights of man, we cannot fail to foresee the doom of all oppression. Slavery is not the legitimate state of man. God made man free."

Wherever we are in the world, each of us has daily opportunities to work and pray for freedom. For some of us it may be the need for freedom from pressure or from fear of failure. Others may pray for freedom from illness or doubt. And still others labor for liberty by striving to throw off oppression.

As we individually do this work, we may feel at times as though our progress out of captivity is small—perhaps it seems not unlike the square-inch parcels of land that fueled Chinese hopes of freedom. But as we persist in prayer, we'll find that the light of liberty is cumulative and shines ever more clearly and brightly for us and for our nations.

BIBLE VERSE

Is not this the fast that I have chosen?
to loose the bands of wickedness,
to undo the heavy burdens,
and to let the oppressed go free,
and that ye break every yoke? . . .
Then shall thy light break forth
as the morning.
Isaiah 58:6, 8

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"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear."

EDITORIALS

Safe Havens – a Minimum

SECRETARY of State Warren Christopher is in Europe this week to work out a united front with NATO allies on what has become a disheveled Bosnia policy.

The West's retreat from even limited intervention in Bosnia has reduced the amount of media coverage on the issue and also has contributed to increased anarchy there. In April, President Clinton called Bosnia the world's "No. 1" problem. But by last week Secretary Christopher said the US has "no vital interest" in Bosnia.

Regardless, conditions in the country worsen as all sides react to the West's decision. The six UN "safe areas" contain a million civilians, all under siege by Serb forces. "Ethnic cleansing" has become the status quo. The situation is so bad in Gorazde that the UN will not send in monitors to observe the fighting. Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic said Wednesday he is preparing to take Sarajevo by force. This week Bosnian forces, with no UN relief from a 20-day Croatian "ethnic cleaning" campaign in central Bosnia, drove away Croat forces in Travnik.

A quick review of the situation sheds light on the allies' difficulties:

From February through April the international community waited for the US to decide on a course of action. The US, meanwhile, said it would wait for a Bosnian Serb decision on a UN peace plan. The Serbs decided this meant the US would not intervene. In May they rejected the Vance-Owen plan and said they would do as they pleased. This put US talk of force to the test. After consulting Europe on a plan to lift the arms embargo on the Bosnians and launch air strikes on Serb artillery, Mr. Clinton pulled back and said he would intervene only as part of a multilateral effort.

That decision in early May put the Bosnia ball in no one's court, where it remains. It is now clear the Europeans cannot agree on an effective Bosnia approach. Few basics can be agreed on other than that the Bosnia problem must be contained, which is why Christopher announced plans to send troops to Macedonia. A containment policy leaves the genocide in Bosnia untouched. The Vance-Owen plan is a starting point for talks, but it has lost credibility. Enforcing it would also require military action against Serbs.

Two short-term approaches:

■ First, protect the safe havens. The US will provide air support. Safe areas may save lives but are unsatisfactory in the long run because they create imprisoning "ethnic ghettoes."

■ Second, get UN agreement for sanctions on Croatia if Croat forces in Bosnia continue to attack Muslims. Zagreb is supporting and inciting Croats in Bosnia, just as Belgrade is helping Serbs there. If Croats continue to "cleanse" Bosnia, Croatia deserves sanctions just as Serbia does.

The crisis in Bosnia reveals problems there and in the West deeper than anything current diplomacy is addressing. But limited measures may keep matters moving ahead.

L.A. Leads Again?

IN Los Angeles on Tuesday, voters elected the first Republican mayor since 1961. In Atlanta on Wednesday, Mayor Maynard Jackson announced that he will not seek a fourth term. In New York, trial-heat polls show a one-percentage-point split between incumbent Mayor David Dinkins and GOP challenger Rudolph Guiliani.

Just as 1992 marked a year of change in Washington, 1993 is shaping up as a year of political change for key urban centers in the United States. The change would be particularly significant if a Republican moved into New York's Gracie Mansion.

In Los Angeles, Mayor-elect Richard Riordan defeated former City Councilman Michael Woo by 54 to 46 percent. At 44 percent, voter turnout was higher than expected, fed by insecurities resulting from last year's riot in South Central Los Angeles. Riordan's support came mostly from whites, but it also included some middle-class Hispanics and Asians who felt that their concerns were not being sufficiently addressed at City Hall under five-term Mayor Tom Bradley.

Although he will not be sworn in until July 1, Riordan already is lobbying for state aid for the city.

Ironically, his election, especially if repeated in a GOP victory in New York, could help cities that are trying to get Washington to develop an effective urban policy.

During the Reagan and Bush years, big-city mayors found it hard to get the attention they sought from the White House, although this was less a problem on Capitol Hill. This is not surprising; the majority of mayors are Democrats. This year, however, a Democrat holds the White House. Initiatives that would benefit cities, such as President Clinton's $16 billion stimulus package, have taken hits in Congress, especially among Republicans.

Having a Republican as mayor of the nation's second-largest city, perhaps even as mayor of the largest, could open important doors.

China's Nuclear Factor

Clinton must balance proliferation issues with those of trade

By Leonard S. Spector

IN deciding in late May to condition China's most-favored-nation (MFN) trade status solely on Beijing's human rights policies, President Clinton postponed a decision on an equally important issue: how to obtain China's compliance with nonproliferation rules.

He had little choice, however, because in late May and early June, he faced an excruciating nonproliferation dilemma with Beijing.

United States intelligence analysts had recently determined that China had transferred short-range M-11 missiles to Pakistan. The transfer violated pledges given to Secretary of State James Baker III in November 1991 that China would abide by the multinational Missile Technology Control Regime. Worse still, CIA Director James Woolsey testified in February that China apparently was continuing to assist Pakistan's nuclear-weapons program, a serious violation of China's obligations under the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, which it joined in March 1992.

China's pending sale of a nuclear power plant to Iran was another US concern. Though the sale was legal under the treaty, Washington had sought to freeze all nuclear transfers to Iran because of concerns that it was mounting a clandestine nuclear-weapons program.

These steps by Beijing demanded a tough US response. Unfortunately, Washington also desperately needed China's help on an equally pressing nonproliferation matter: On June 12, North Korea's withdrawal from the Non-Proliferation Treaty, announced three months earlier, would take effect.

As North Korea's only remaining military ally and economic patron, China was uniquely positioned to persuade Pyongyang to stay in the treaty. To solicit China's help, however, Mr. Clinton needed to stay on friendly terms with Beijing. This would be impossible if he threatened to withdraw its MFN status or applied other sanctions to obtain a change in China's export policies.

Thus when Clinton announced that he would tie China's MFN status solely to human rights and would address China's nuclear and missile behavior by means of other, more narrowly focused initiatives, he was not merely refining US MFN policy – he was deliberately postponing action on China's dangerous exports because of an unresolvable conflict with another US nonproliferation goal that could be advanced only with Chinese assistance.

Clinton's predicament reveals only part of the growing importance of China in global nonproliferation affairs, and only part of the policy troubles that lie ahead for Washington.

China's decisions about its nuclear arsenal and participation in nuclear-arms-control efforts are having increasing global repercussions. Along with the US, Russia, Britain, and France, China is one of the world's five declared nuclear-weapon states. It is grouped with Britain and France as a "middle nuclear power," possessing hundreds of nuclear weapons, in contrast to the 20,000 to 30,000 held by each of the two superpowers.

China's nuclear armory is in some ways less advanced than those of Britain or France. Nonetheless it has dozens of missiles with an intercontinental reach. Some Western experts say that it possesses more nuclear weapons overall than the two other middle nuclear powers combined. Like them, it has not joined nuclear-arms-control talks pursued by the superpowers, asserting that it will consider reducing its nuclear arsenal only when the superpowers have cut their stockpiles to roughly comparable levels.

While it is hard to fault Beijing for this aloofness given current disparities in nuclear strength, Beijing may have to join nuclear-arms-reduction talks before long. If the START I and START II treaties between Russia and the US are implemented, by the year 2000 the superpower arsenals could be reduced to about 3,000 to 4,000 weapons each. Moscow and Washington will be unlikely to consider further reductions without proportional cuts by China and the other middle nuclear powers.

A more immediate concern is that China's nuclear-testing policy may determine whether a comprehensive test ban can be implemented. The US, Russia, Britain, and France have temporarily halted tests. China, however, never has announced tests, and more may be in the offing. In each of the countries adhering to the moratorium, pressures are growing from military and nuclear constituencies to resume testing. If one resumes, the others will follow. Unfortunately, continued testing by China could have the same effect.

Chinese participation in a formal test-ban treaty will be essential if such a treaty is to be extended to India, Israel, and Pakistan, the three other states capable of deploying nuclear arms quickly.

PROSPECTS for a test ban could also determine whether the nonnuclear signatories of the Non-Proliferation Treaty will support a substantial extension of the pact when it comes up for renewal in 1995. For years these states have demanded such a freeze. With talks on a global test ban likely to begin before the end of the year, China shortly will be forced to decide whether it will actively back the effort. Once again, Washington will have to play the role of suitor.

Washington also will need Beijing's cooperation to slow the nuclear-arms race between India and Pakistan. India has said it refuses to accept restraints because of concerns about the nuclear threat it faces from China.

Finally, Clinton must bear in mind the gravest Chinese nuclear danger of all: the risk that with the death of Premier Deng Xiaoping, China will break apart and its nuclear arsenal will fall into the hands of regional leaders. China has a long history of "warlordism." Outside analysts already have noted increasing regional tensions, as economic disparities between them grow. "Nuclear warlordism," which almost emerged during the Cultural Revolution of the 1960s, could be the ultimate proliferation nightmare.

To avoid it, the US must help promote Chinese stability. This means fostering greater economic and political ties, not inflicting punishment through sanctions or other means.

■ *Leonard S. Spector is a senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington and director of its Nuclear Non-Proliferation Project.*

OPINION/ESSAYS

The Country Japan Wants to Be

THE marriage of Crown Prince Naruhito to Masako Owada in Tokyo on Wednesday had pretty much the whole country glued to their television sets. The ceremony and the style of the new Crown Princess's gorgeous billowing robes were ancient.

But the coming together of a young couple educated at Harvard and Oxford, and equally at home in Tokyo or New York, symbolized the kind of country Japan wants to be – a respected member of the global community, blending ancient roots with a mind-set open and welcoming to the whole world.

Such a Japan is still part promise, part reality. The reality is deeper and more substantial than some Westerners, dismayed by Japan's "difference," may think. But even the more sanguine believer in these islanders' abilities to adapt to new circumstances and to absorb new influences would have to admit this: The path from ethnic and cultural singularity to an easy acceptance of diversity within and an openness to the world without is never smooth.

With nations, as with individuals, there are certain moments that are remembered as milestones – a time to sit back and think about where one has been and where one is headed – to abandon old grooves and reach out in new directions. Japan faces such a moment.

Nearly half-a-century ago, defeat in World War II caused Japan to take a sharp change in direction. Militarism was abandoned and democracy adopted with enthusiasm.

The early postwar world was neither a stable nor a peaceful place, but American generosity and military protection enabled the Japanese to concentrate single-mindedly on economic recovery and expansion.

TAKASHI OKA

Partly by instinct, partly by trial and error, the Japanese evolved an economic system based on new elements and old – democracy, individual values, the spirit of scientific inquiry, changing but not fully transforming habits based on the feudal past and on a shared sense of ethnic and social homogeneity. The Japanese system emphasized production rather than consumerism, exports rather than imports, and had a consistent if not explicitly articulated goal: to catch up with America.

Today, the Japanese have caught up, with a vengeance. Japan is the first country in history to have achieved great-power status without significant military might.

In fact it has a constitution that explicitly forbids Japan from going to war and government policies that reject nuclear weapons and international arms trafficking.

Now these islanders find themselves deluged from every side with demands to behave as a responsible major power. They may not be perceived, yet, as a military menace. But in many countries, and especially in the United States, they are regarded as an economic juggernaut, affecting the jobs and livelihoods of millions of people who may never have visited Japan and who still have trouble differentiating the country from China.

Equally important is the demand from within the country for change. The generation that saved and worked so hard to create Japan's postwar miracle is reaching retirement age, and their goals are changing. While saving somewhat for their future, they want to enjoy now.

As consumerism grows, the ticket of explicit and implicit rules and regulations that characterizes the relationship between bureaucrats, businessmen, and politicians – which outsiders describe as invisible trade barriers – is increasingly viewed even in Japan as a hindrance, not a help, to further growth.

"Suppose we make millions more cars," says one of Japan's leading reformist politicians. "Where are we going to sell them? We have to develop products with high added value, products no one else has. The creativity and originality we need cannot be born in the kind of rigidly regulated system we have today."

It's a cold, hard world the Japanese face. If the US, under the Clinton administration, has abandoned the big brotherism of the early postwar years, it has also abandoned the generosity of those years, economist Toyoo Gyoten points out in a recent essay.

Japan, says Gyoten, must give up not only the unspoken deference that has characterized its relationship with Washington so far, but also the *amae* – a word that means the attitude of a small child who knows he can always presume on the love of his parent even though he may not deserve it.

Behind the splendor of this week's wedding looms a burden Japan can no longer shirk. In a world precariously freed from the cold war, Japan cannot merely respond to pressures coming from the US or anywhere else. It has to define its own national interests within the larger context of a world that needs to be one. It has to help shape that world by initiatives coming not only from Washington or Paris, but from Tokyo.

For a nation so long accustomed to thinking of itself as small and resource-poor, it's a huge milestone.

Bosnia's Security Is Our Security

By Dennis DeConcini

IN 1975, the leaders of the United States, Canada, the Soviet Union, and all of Europe signed the Helsinki Final Act, which enunciated important principles that were to govern European affairs.

Among them were principles regarding respect for human rights, the territorial integrity of states, obligations under international law, and, above all, the notion of not using force to settle differences.

Fifteen years later, triumphantly celebrating the end of the cold war, the leaders of these Helsinki-signatories reaffirmed those principles, asserting that "Europe is liberating itself from the legacy of the past." Last year in Helsinki, the leaders assembled once again to designate the Helsinki principles as "the collective conscience of our community."

During the year since the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina began, the failure of European leaders to respond effectively and decisively to wanton aggression and genocide on their continent calls into question their genuine commitment to these principles.

The recent decision to herd Bosnia's Muslims into "safe havens," is, in my view, tantamount to a repudiation of the principle that force is an unacceptable means for addressing political ends. In effect, Europe has acquiesced to the principle that might make right in the interest of political expedience.

I am deeply ashamed that the international community has declared itself unwilling to challenge the territorial aspirations of a murderous thug and his rag-tag group of Serbian militants. In so doing, it has essentially delivered territory of a sovereign nation to the forces of aggression and genocide. This can only have the most dire consequences for peace, security, and justice in our world.

After agreeing to the safe-haven concept, President Clinton noted that "at least we're together again," referring to the US and Europe. I do not question the need for a multilateral approach. But what about our agreements to uphold the Helsinki principles? And what about the Bosnian Government? Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic reacted bitterly to this latest plan asserting that it rewards genocide.

In strong contrast, the militant leader of Bosnia's Serbs, Radovan Karadzic, called it "realistic" and appeared more emboldened than ever by the world's unwillingness to halt his quest for a "Greater Serbia." Indeed, Serb irregulars have since blocked deployments in the "safe haven" cities despite promises made by Mr. Karadzic

Our inaction has legitimized Serbia's campaign of ethnic cleansing in Bosnia. The safe-haven plan may soothe the consciences of some, but it does nothing to punish those responsible for aggression, terrorism, and acts of genocide. As a result, it has encouraged even more killing. With little fear of Western reprisal, opportunistic Croatian forces have been given a green light to conduct their own land grab, and Bosnian forces, feeling abandoned by the world, are carrying out desperate offensives.

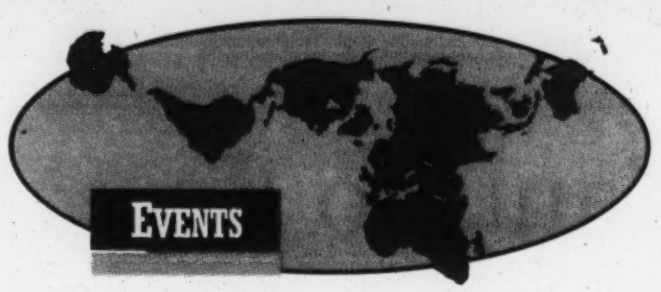
Far from "liberating itself" from its past legacy, post-cold-war Europe is permitting itself once again to be defined by past weaknesses – a past replete with hatred, prejudice, and ethnic rivalries.

By their inaction, Europe's most powerful nations have demonstrated that, despite their grand proclamations, they have retained the narrow, self-serving outlooks that allowed similar tragedies to occur on their continent in the past. They have also sent a dangerous signal to extremists in both Western Europe and the countries of the former Soviet Union.

Finally, this failure calls into question the future role of NATO. At a time when we are agonizing over the closure of military bases here at home, we are maintaining, with an expensive deployment of troops and equipment, an alliance that has failed miserably to respond in any meaningful way to the type of ethnic rivalry and territorial dispute it has acknowledged is the biggest risk to its members' security.

How post-cold-war security is to be defined and maintained and what role the US should play in Europe's security must be urgently reviewed. I would urge Mr. Clinton, at the earliest possible moment, to begin a high-level review with our allies regarding these issues – issues that in the long run directly affect the security of us all.

■ *Sen. Dennis DeConcini (D) of Arizona is chairman of the US Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence.*



INVESTMENT SPENDING EXPECTED TO RISE
American businesses plan to increase investment spending on new buildings and equipment by 6.4 percent this year. Businesses surveyed by the Commerce Department in April and May said they would spend $581 billion in 1993 on constructing and modernizing buildings, installing new computers, and upgrading and replacing other equipment and machinery. If realized, the increase would be the strongest since an 11.4 percent rise in 1989. However, the latest survey represents a modest reduction from the 6.6 percent rise planned when the department surveyed businesses in the first quarter.

Jobless claims

The number of Americans filing first-time claims for jobless benefits fell by 2,000 last week, the Labor Department said yesterday. New applications for unemployment insurance totaled 345,000, down from a revised 347,000 the previous week. Claims first were thought to have totaled 344,000 during the week ending May 29. They totaled 338,000 during the week ending May 22.

Iran denial

A leading parliament member, Saeed Rajaie-Khorasani, yesterday denied United States allegations that Iran was trying to acquire weapons of mass destruction. Mr. Rajaie-Khorasani said Secretary of State Warren Christopher was wrong in alleging that Iran is engaged in acquiring nuclear or chemical weapons. Mr. Christopher urged America's European allies Wednesday to deny Iran technology that could be used for military purposes.

Mongolian elections

Incumbent Punsalmaagiyn Ochirbat overwhelmingly won a new term in Mongolia's first multiparty presidential elections after being dumped by the ruling former communists. Mr. Ochirbat ran as the joint candidate of two opposition parties that favor continued economic and political reform. A newspaper editor was the candidate of the ruling Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party. Ochirbat received 57.8 percent of the ballots cast Sunday to 38.7 percent for Lodongiyn Tudev.

Japanese politics

Another attempt to clean up Japan's political system appears headed for defeat. Factions within the governing Liberal Democratic Party failed to agree on a compromise plan yesterday at a heated party policy meeting, with just 10 days left until the current session of Parliament ends. All mainstream parties agree that the political system, in which two to six lower-house legislators are elected from each district, invites corruption.

Mexico arrest

A major drug trafficker sought in the slaying of a Roman Catholic cardinal has been arrested near the Guatemalan border, Mexican officials reported yesterday. The Notimex agency said Juan Guzman, known as "El Chapo," and seven associates were arrested in Tapachula by the Army and federal judicial police. Outrage over the May 24 killing of Cardinal Juan Jesus Posadas Ocampo and six others has led to a nationwide search for the killers and the arrest of more than a dozen suspects, including several senior policemen accused of links to the traffickers.

Kuwaiti border trench

Kuwait yesterday began digging a 130-mile trench along its border with Iraq to help protect the tiny emirate from its hostile neighbor. The ditch runs along the border as demarcated by the United Nations in November. The line has been rejected by Iraq. The project has been named the Fourth Wall after three historical concrete barriers built around Kuwait City to guard it from robbers and invading tribesmen. Funds for the barrier have been raised from donations by citizens.

Andreotti request

Former Italian Premier Giulio Andreotti asked the Senate yesterday to lift his parliamentary immunity to allow prosecutors to pursue allegations that he was behind the 1979 murder of a journalist. Mr. Andreotti denied the allegations, calling the case an attempted lynching and suggesting he was the victim of the Cosa Nostra and the American Mafia. The premier is already under investigation for alleged corruption and association with Mafia bosses.

– Compiled by Shelby Siems

I DON'T GET IT, SENATOR... EVERYBODY LOVES DINOSAURS NOBODY LOVES US...
RANK HYPOCRISY, SENATOR...
DANZIGER
The Christian Science Monitor

Looking at History to Face Balkan Future

Permit me to congratulate you on the front-page article "Old Animosities Exploited Today Underlie Complex Balkans Puzzle," May 17. However, I have yet to see any newspaper adequately deal with the issue. As a superpower, we must question whether by our inaction we have not contributed to the horrors and atrocitites. It would have been simpler and quicker to have dealt with the problem a year ago, but now it will not go away. We have to provide leadership or lose our role and the world's trust. American isolationism has always been a European fear, and our wavering can only raise the question: What, again?

Guy C. Hill *San Diego, Calif.*

The front-page analysis of the Balkans, May 17, could help our decision-makers in Washington see this conflict as the enigma it is. Nationalistic, ethnic, and religious pride remains the means for aspiring tyrants to goad these people into killing each other.

Until the region's enslaving cultural bonds are replaced by the collective ability of its inhabitants to subjugate pride to benefit the whole, we are left with no course but an attempt to contain the conflict.

James L. Taylor *Phoenix*

In the May 17 article, the author confuses the system of Ottoman rule itself with the symptoms of Ottoman decline. When the Ottomans occupied the Balkans, they subjected the peasantry to lower taxes and work requirements than they had had under Christian landlords.

Later Ottoman exploitation of the peasantry stemmed from the pressures of inflation and from loss of commerce, which was caused by the influx of gold and silver from the New World and the establishment of new trade routes.

Christopher Adamo *Pocasset, Mass.*

Discuss abortion further

Regarding the article "Conservative Republicans Call for 'Culture War'," May 17: Surely it is naive for Sen. Alan Simpson (R) of Wyoming to propound that abortion is so personal that "it does not belong in the public domain." Every congressional action in favor of abortion implemented by means of tax dollars places the issue squarely in the public forum.

It is moralistic for Senator Simpson to say fiat to abortion, and then to veto any discussion of its propriety. Is not debate the hallmark of a free society?

Lawrence G. Lavery *Milton, Mass.*

LETTERS

Not quantity but quality

The editorial "Keeping EPA on Course," May 27, implies that Congress does not appropriate sufficient funds to the Environmental Protection Agency. Overall size of the appropriation may not be the problem. The same Center for Resource Economics report mentioned in the editorial points to poor spending priorities, determined largely by Congress. Pork-barrel projects focusing on environmental conditions with relatively low risks are consuming EPA resources that could be used better if the agency had more flexibility. Before appropriating more money, Congress ought to review carefully the effectiveness of the mandates they have handed down.

Karen D. Brady *Larkspur, Calif.*

Responsibility and guns

Regarding the editorial, " 'Culture' Is No Excuse," May 25: While I do believe in the right to defend one's property, as a gun owner I recognize that using a gun carries certain reponsibilities.

Rodney Peairs should not have fired his pistol that day, either at the Japanese student or near him as a warning shot. He should have closed and locked his door, and then called the police.

Barry L. Simpson *Huntsville, Ala.*

Gas-guzzling days of yore

Regarding the article, "Fill 'Er Up: Prices at the Pump Are Good," May 28: Apparently your headline writer is still living in 1950s fossil-fuel bliss.

You've got a big responsibility. Mindlessly reenacting old myths doesn't help.

Stephen Rose *Cold Spring, N.Y.*